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Archæological Institute of America.

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PAPERS

OF THE

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL  
STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME VI

1890-1897



BOSTON  
GINN AND COMPANY  
AND  
LEIPSIC: OTTO HARRASSOWITZ  
1897



## PREFACE.

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THE present volume represents the work of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens from the summer of 1890 to that of 1897. All the papers here collected have appeared already in the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The present Committee on Publications is responsible only for those papers which appeared after the summer of 1893. This change in editorship during the appearance of the papers forming the volume, together with changes in the place of publication of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, and in the firms electrotyping the articles as they successively appeared, has made it impossible for the present editorial committee to secure unity of form in expression or typography. What unity has been secured is due to extensive alterations of the plates, a thankless task, but cheerfully undertaken for the Committee by the present publishers. It is hoped that even in its outward form the volume may not unworthily conclude the series. Its contents certainly testify to broadening activity and scholarship on the part of managers and members of the School. Further papers on the excavations of the School at the Argive Heraeum will probably form a special volume, published under the auspices of the Institute. The Institute is also to publish in independent form the future papers of the School.

B. PERRIN,  
T. D. SEYMOUR,  
J. R. WHEELER,

*Committee on Publications.*



13-16-33

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## EXCAVATIONS IN THE THEATRE AT SICYON IN 1891.

[PLATE I.]

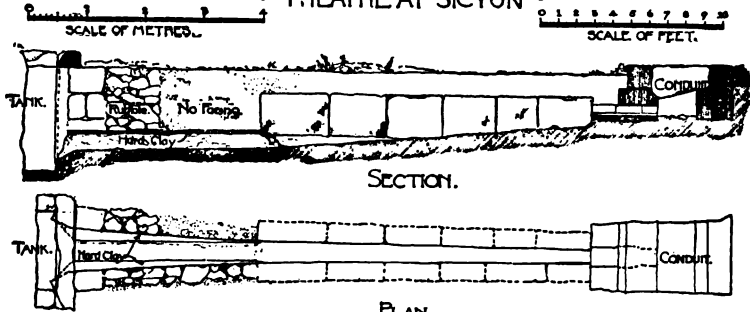
In the "General Report of the Excavations" at Sicyon by Mr. McMurtry,<sup>1</sup> under the sub-heading, "The Orchestra," some description is given of "an elaborate drainage-system" in the theatre. In my "Supplementary Report," *Ibid.*, p. 25, mention is made of the "so-called *ὑπόνομος*" and of the uncertainty as to "whether it served as reservoir, drain, or for some other purpose," an uncertainty which it was at that time impossible to dispel.

At the suggestion of Professor Merriam, Dr. Charles Waldstein, Director of the School, procured for me from the Greek authorities permission to resume work at the theatre of Sicyon. The excavations were carried on between July 27 and August 4, 1891, having as their object the solution of the problem of the theatre's subterranean structure. The results obtained are as follows:

The *ὑπόνομος*, or underground passage, in its main extent begins at a point between the walls *E* and *D*, in the plan annexed to the above mentioned reports (see also the accompanying PLAN of vertical and horizontal sections p. 2) about 1.80 m. from *E*. It is cut down straight through the crust of native rock to the clay which lies below, its depth being about 2.25 m. or a trifle more. Its width here is about .56 m. At a depth of 1.60 m. below the upper surface of the native rock, and 1.25 m. below the shelf cut for the reception of the cover-stones, appears the mouth of a tunnel, which is of equal breadth with the *ὑπόνομος* and is now almost entirely

<sup>1</sup> *Papers of the Am. School at Athens*, v. p. 1.

• HYPNOMOS •  
IN THE  
• THEATRE AT SICYON •



SECTION BETWEEN CONDUIT AND TANK

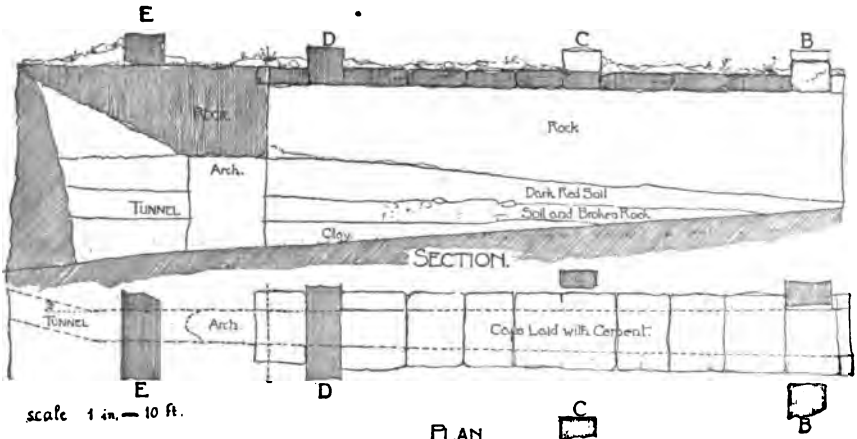
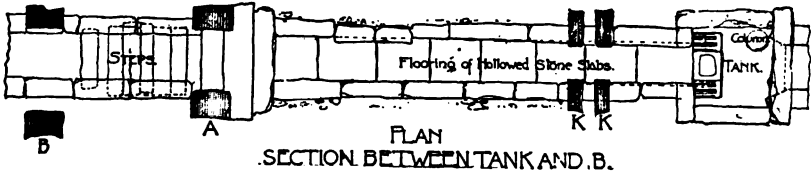
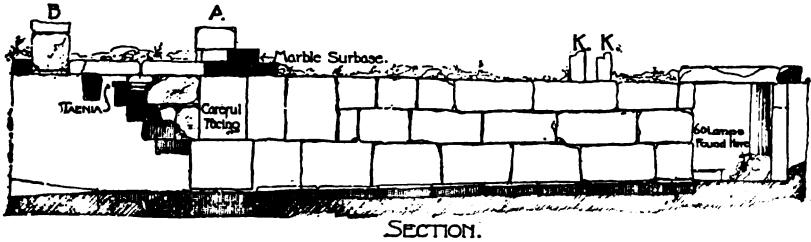


FIG. 1.

choked with a deposit of dark-red earth ; this tunnel continues the *ὑπόνομος* to an unknown distance into the rocks beyond *E*.<sup>3</sup> The deposit of earth washed into the *ὑπόνομος* did not equal the full height of the tunnel, so that a small opening was visible at the end of the main *ὑπόνομος* before the workmen began digging. Removal of the earth to the distance of about one metre in the tunnel, and probing of the small unfilled space with a long crowbar, did not enable us to reach the end, nor could anything be well made out with torches in so narrow an opening. The workman chiefly occupied here assured me that he saw "rats as large as cats" (*ποντίκια μεγάλα ὅσ' ἄν γάταις*) in this hole. So far as can be conjectured, for further excavation here was out of the question at the time, this continuation of the *ὑπόνομος* debouches in one of the old subterranean waterways of the plateau. From the point above mentioned, between *E* and *D* to *B* (on the PLAN) the contents of the *ὑπόνομος*, from the depth of about 1.25 m. to that of about 1.90 m., were found to be dark-red soil, such as covered the orchestra and other portions of the theatre before excavations were undertaken ; from the depth of about 1.90 m. to that of about 2.30 m. was found a deposit of similar soil interspersed with bits of native rock, earthenware, and cement (?). Below this the white clay begins to appear. From the point between *E* and *D* to and just beyond *B* the *ὑπόνομος* was carefully covered with slabs of soft native conglomerate, which had been quarried apparently in cutting out portions of the stage-structure. This covering had been laid originally with a whitish cement, as was evident from that found under the edges of the slabs raised between *E* and *D*. As we advanced toward the orchestra, we found the native rock becoming much more friable, passing almost imperceptibly into the native white clay at the place marked in the plan as "excavated below the level of orchestra." The deceptive appearance of this crumbling rock, which cracks both horizontally and vertically and in small blocks, misled me into speaking of it in my previous report as "what seemed to be a pavement of rough mosaic-work."

<sup>3</sup>The mouth of the tunnel is not square. There is a rough arching of the roof.

Between *B* and *A* a noteworthy structure was brought to light. Just in front of and below the slab of conglomerate (about .20 m. thick), which covers the *ὑπόνομος* to the doorway of the wall *B*, was found lying across the *ὑπόνομος* a large block of soft yellowish native stone, which had evidently sunk to the slanting position in which it was found owing to the fact that it had originally been placed with its ends resting directly upon the crumbling rock on either side of the *ὑπόνομος*. From the *tænia* upon the inner face of this block (reckoning from the orchestra), it had evidently been taken from the epistyle of some building. Its dimensions (it appeared to have been broken at the ends) were about 1.19 to 1.25 m. x .37 m. x .39 m.\* Below it descended in the direction of the orchestra, occupying the entire breadth of the *ὑπόνομος* (about .69 m.), a flight of five steps of soft stone, their ends supported not by the native rock, which is here too soft to admit of such construction, but by a neatly laid facing of stone blocks, which sheathe the sides of the *ὑπόνομος* from this point on through the soft rock and the subsequent white clay of the orchestra. The two uppermost steps (leaving out of account the displaced block previously described, which from its position was evidently the original top step of the flight) are cut out of a single block, which exhibits at the upper edge of its inner face the *tænia* and two *regulæ* and a half of a Doric epistyle. Measured from without, the height of the steps of this stairway varies from about .162 m. to about .295 m., and their horizontal depth from about .25 m. to about .295 m. The form of the steps appears in reverse from the under side of the stairway, as in the case of wooden steps. Between the under surface of the lowest step-block and the bottom of the *ὑπόνομος*, which is here floored with slabs of stone, a clear space about .53 m. in height intervenes, sufficient to allow the passage of a considerable quantity of water. The flooring just mentioned begins at a point about .25 m. back (from the orchestra) of a plummet dropped from the inner face of the architrave-block in which are cut the two upper steps as above described. Directly

\*It was dislodged from its position to facilitate excavation and now lies within the *ὑπόνομος*, a short distance back of the stairway.

below the outer face (*i. e.*, the face toward the orchestra) of the middle block of the marble surbase of  $\Delta$  the appearance of the flooring of the *ὑπόνομος*, changes. From this point for a considerable distance, apparently as far as the central tank, to be described below, the flooring consists of slabs of stone, slightly hollowed and coated with cement, evidently to facilitate the passage of water. The *ὑπόνομος*, the stone facings of which have fallen in somewhat in the orchestra forward of the marble surbase, was not completely excavated between  $\Delta$  and  $ΚΚ$ ; but in the line of the latter structure it was cleared to the bottom, showing the stone flooring there at a depth, in the deepest part of its hollow, of about 1.85 m. from the level of the top of the stone side-facings. These are here in good repair, and the rough double line of  $ΚΚ$  in its present condition slightly overlaps them at their upper exterior edge on either side of the *ὑπόνομος*. As the stones of which  $ΚΚ$  is built are set in the soil of the orchestra much deeper than the top of the *ὑπόνομος*, there is evidently no original structural connection between  $ΚΚ$  and the *ὑπόνομος*, a point of some importance. In regard to  $ΚΚ$ , I have nothing further to add to the conjecture expressed in Note 9 of the "General Report," which, so far as I can judge, is entirely correct. It may be added here that the most carefully constructed portion of the facing of the *ὑπόνομος* is found directly below the slab which supports the marble surbase of  $\Delta$ . It may be described as follows: Two facing-stones, almost exactly corresponding in relative position to two others on the other side of the *ὑπόνομος*, fill the space from top to bottom. The height of the upper stones is 1.065 m. (north side) and 1.055 m. (south side), of the lower about .78 m. (north side) and .805 (south side); while the length of the upper is .795 (north side) and .805 m. (south side), and that of the lower about 1.10 m. (north side) and 1.09 m. (south side). No cement appears in the joints. The surface of the stone is dressed even, but not smoothed. In the *ὑπόνομος*, between  $\Delta$  and  $ΚΚ$  were found, besides fallen blocks from the facing, a large block, which from its shape and dimensions appeared to

\*This block in spanning the *ὑπόνομος* is supported by a slab of conglomerate about .24 m. in thickness and about .76 m. in horizontal depth. This is overlapped in front about .21 m. by the superincumbent marble.

have been taken from the *ἀναλήμματα*, although I was not able to make sure of its original position; a mutilated Ionic capital of soft native stone; and a beautiful fragment of a marble Ionic capital, a volute with calyx-moulding behind. The few copper coins found in this part of the *ὑπόνομος* were too much corroded to be identified, although one, found near the rear end of the main *ὑπόνομος*, was unmistakably Sicyonian.\* One or two small common terracotta lamps were found under the bottom of the stairway. The *ὑπόνομος* enlarges at the centre of the orchestra<sup>†</sup> in the form of a tank,<sup>‡</sup> about 1.30 m. square and apparently of the same depth. It seems not to have been floored with stone but with the native white clay. A portion of the shaft of a Doric column (1.26 m. in height), standing at the southwest corner, seems to have served to support the stone cover, which was badly broken, but, so far as could be ascertained, originally closed the tank completely. Immediately under this cover were found fifty or more small rough terracotta lamps, some of which had evidently been used, and a number of thin lustreless terracotta bowls, several of which contained lamps. How and when this closely packed mass of lamps and bowls came to be deposited here (evidently after the tank had been filled with earth) is a problem of which I can offer no solution. Upon what appeared to be the bottom<sup>§</sup> of the tank lay a block of soft native stone, showing upon its upper surface (as it lay) two triglyphs, and having an irregular square hollowed in the middle of the undecorated metope. At each inner angle (toward the stage-structure) the tank is met by a shallow superficial gutter (inaccurately indicated but not lettered on the earlier PLAN), constructed of grooved blocks of stone coated with cement. These gutters run from a structure on each side of the orchestra consisting of a large block of stone laid in cement, immediately beyond and nearly

\* I managed to make out Σ I and the well-known emblem of the dove.

† Dr. Young's more accurate measurements are as follows:

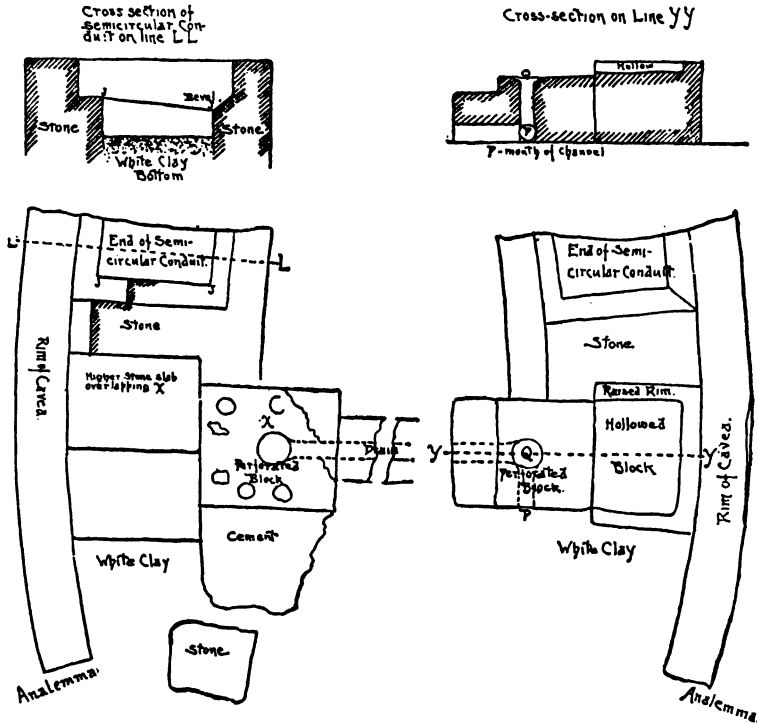
Breadth: west end, 1.315 m.; centre, 1.30 m.; east end, 1.285 m.

Length: north side, 1.30 m.; south side, 1.425 m.

‡ The *ὑπόνομος* is about .62 m. broad at top .785 m. at bottom, where it meets the tank.

§ That it was not the original bottom was subsequently ascertained.

continuous with the extremities of the semicircular conduit which runs below the seats of the cavea.



Ends of Semicircular Conduit and  
Altar(?) Bases

FIG. 2.

One of the large stones is badly indicated in the earlier PLAN at X. The gutter stops within about .39 m. of it.\* The block itself is cut in the form of a double step, the lower portion .38 m. high by .295 m. deep; the upper, .075 m. high at the sides and .065 m. in the middle. The space between it and the lowest row of seats is occupied by another somewhat more elevated block, .89 m. x .73 m. on the surface. This is hollowed to a depth of .10 m., with a rim about

\*The "drain" marked at this place in the plan, and mentioned in the "General Report" (sub-heading "Orchestra") as a drain of earthen pipe, near the level of the "orchestra," connecting with *KK*, I can make nothing of. No traces of it are now in existence.



.11 m. broad on three sides. The long side, which lies against and somewhat above *X* (Fig. 2), has no rim. The stone *X*, itself, is pierced by a small round hole in the centre. On raising it, it was discovered that on the under side a gutter had been cut from the central aperture to the outer edge (*i. e.*, toward the gutter of the orchestra). This was filled with cement. But another gutter, about .125 m. deep, which had been cut at right angles to the former, leading from the central aperture to the edge lying away from the termination of the semicircular conduit, was open. This stone, the openings and gutters of which, as it lay, could have no possible connection with the semicircular conduit or with the stone gutter of the orchestra (though the gutters in the block were of about the same depth and breadth), is very probably not in its original position. The stone which corresponds to it on the other side of the orchestra is, like it, laid with cement and has above it a large block forming the connection between it and the lower seats, and it is directly connected with the stone gutter of the orchestra by a central boring *Q* (about .13 m. in diameter) and a gutter from this to the edge, directly continued on the first stone of the gutter of the orchestra. The joint is cemented. Four holes are drilled in this block<sup>10</sup> some distance within the four corners, and when first observed were still filled with lead, thus proving that they had served to secure some object, upon the block. It would seem that something originally stood here from which the drip was to be carried off to the central tank of the orchestra by the stone gutter, which, like its mate, emptied into the tank by a shallow V-shaped spout of heavy terracotta. Could this something have been a small altar?<sup>11</sup> At a distance of .48 m. from the semicircular conduit (between the central tank and this point the *ὑπόνομος* has been but partly opened and not cleared of earth), immediately at the left of the large stone marked *J* in the earlier PLAN, the

<sup>10</sup> The dimensions of the block are about .945 m. x .795 m., the lesser dimension toward the orchestra.

<sup>11</sup> [The following remark of Donatus in his introduction to Terence may be cited for an altar at each side in the Roman epoch: *In scena duas aræ poni solebant, dextera Liberi, sinistra ejus dei (Apollinis) cui ludi fiebant.* See, however, BERGK, *Gr. Literaturgeschichte*, iii. p. 6, note. A. C. M.]

*ὑπόνομος*, which is here but .30 m. broad, is met by a gutter cut in a single block of stone and running under the lower of the two courses of stone blocks which form the exterior boundary of the semicircular conduit, thus lying some .65 m. below the level of the rim of the conduit. The opening of this gutter from the inside of the conduit is some .27 m. broad by .16 m. deep. The semicircular conduit is not artificially floored, but is merely hollowed in the hard white clay of the orchestra. Careful excavations at both ends prove conclusively to my mind that it had no connection with the *ὑπόνομος* from these points, but only by the one outlet just described. Although the *ὑπόνομος*, as indicated above, was not entirely excavated, I am of the opinion that what has been done furnishes sufficient data for an estimate of its general character and use.<sup>19</sup>

MORTIMER LAMSON EARLE.

BARNARD COLLEGE, NEW YORK,  
October 18, 1891.

<sup>19</sup> [N. B. Some slight changes have been made in the measurements as they appeared in my original notes; for this again I am indebted to the accuracy of Dr. Young.]

## FURTHER EXCAVATIONS AT THE THEATRE OF SICYON IN 1891.

The present report includes the results of a fourth season of excavation at the theatre of Sicyon. The stage-structure, orchestra, and lower rows of the cavea had been cleared in the years 1886 and 1887, under the direction of Professors D'Ooge and Merriam.<sup>1</sup> At that time a subterranean passage, following the central line of the theatre through orchestra and stage-structure, had been discovered but not completely explored. During last summer (July-August, 1891) Mr. Earle<sup>2</sup> resumed the work which he had superintended four years before. The object sought was to determine the meaning and purpose of this passage in the light of a similar discovery just made in the theatre of Eretria.<sup>3</sup> Adverse circumstances prevented the full completion of Mr. Earle's undertaking. We succeeded to the task in December, by previous appointment meeting Dr. Waldstein at Basiliko on the day of his arrival in Greece (December 22). Operations at the theatre commenced the next morning, under Dr. Waldstein's direction, and continued after his departure until December 30.

When our work began, the so-called *ὑπόνομος* was not yet fully cleared in the space between wall *A*<sup>4</sup> and the central tank, as well as between this tank and the middle point of the semicircular conduit of the orchestra. Further to the west, about under wall *E*, the mouth of a rock-cut tunnel<sup>5</sup> was visible, evidently a prolongation and outlet of the *ὑπόνομος*. A short distance west of *E* a shaft had been sunk in the line of this tunnel to discover, if possible, its course and meaning.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Papers of the Am. School at Athens*, v. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See preceding paper.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 84, 98 ff.

<sup>4</sup> References are to Fig. 1 above, p. 2; also to the PLAN in *Papers of the Am. School at Athens*, v. p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 1.

No such indications as were desired had been found, though the shaft had reached a depth below the surface equal to that of the tunnel's roof. The ill success of this attempt was due to reasons which could not have been foreseen, but will appear later. At all these points, therefore, we sought to complete what had been left unfinished.

Our first step was to continue the removal of the covering-stones of the *ὑπόνομος* from orchestra conduit to central tank; for here the passage was too shallow and narrow to allow digging from beneath. Only one stone was left *in situ*, and throughout the extent described the accumulated earth was cleared away down to virgin soil. Nothing was discovered in the course of the work except two small Roman lamps. In the tank itself, which had been excavated to a depth of about 1.25 m. we found the original hard soil which had been its only flooring about .50 m. deeper. Here also nothing of more importance than fragments of pottery came to light. Between *KK* and *AA* the facing of the *ὑπόνομος* on its north side had fallen away, and it was necessary to break up and remove the stones which thus choked its course. This done, the pavement was soon laid bare and the *ὑπόνομος* fully cleared from *A* to the orchestra conduit. In the rock-cut portion beneath the stage-structure we endeavored to determine as surely as possible the original bed of the *ὑπόνομος*. A few fragments of pottery and a small portion of the marble base of a column were found, which were valuable as proving that we must go still deeper. No stone paving was discovered, but hard clay almost as impermeable. Finally, we penetrated still further into the tunnel above mentioned. The shaft east of *E* was sunk to such a depth that the workmen here, digging toward *E*, soon met those who had begun at the opposite extremity of the tunnel under the stage-structure. It was found that in this subterranean portion the *ὑπόνομος* bent away so far to the south that the shaft was quite out of the line of its course.

To sum up more in detail the points which have seemed worthy of note.\* The semicircular conduit is directly con-

\* We repeat in a few cases data already published. This has been done only where it seemed necessary for the sake of completeness, or where more thorough excavation has made more exact measurements possible.

nected with the *ὑπόνομος* by means of a gutter, which runs under the bounding curb of the conduit. This gutter is constructed by hollowing out the upper surface of a single stone which forms part of the foundation of the curb, projecting beyond it .45 m. to the east, and lying .71 m. below its upper rim. The length of the outlet so formed is 1.11 m., its breadth at the western extremity (within the orchestra conduit) .29 m., at the eastern extremity .315 m., its depth .16 m. At about the point where it is bridged by the superincumbent courses of the orchestra-curb the gutter widens out into a sort of basin, whose breadth, measured along the inner (eastern) edge of the stone which spans it, is .375 m. This basin is .415 m. distant from the eastern extremity of the gutter-stone. From this eastern extremity down to virgin soil in the *ὑπόνομος* proper is a fall of about .235 m. At this initial point the *ὑπόνομος* is .245 m. wide and well faced on each side with quadrangular blocks, their upper surface continuing approximately at a level with the upper surface of the gutter-stone. In its course toward the central tank the *ὑπόνομος* becomes gradually wider and deeper. At a distance of 3 m. from the gutter-stone its breadth is .29 m., 2.63 m. further on the breadth has increased to .36 m. Throughout this extent of 5.63 m. the side-facing is regular and well constructed. It consists of a single course of stones, fitted together without mortar, which vary in height with the increasing depth of the *ὑπόνομος*, the one next the gutter-stone measuring .475 m., the one further to the east .69 m. At the above mentioned distance of 5.63 m. from the conduit-curb the character of the side-facing changes entirely. Through a further extent of 2.62 m. the bounding-walls, instead of being straight and vertical as before, are very ill made and irregular, consisting for the most part of small stones very carelessly fitted together. On the south side for a space of 1.18 m., measured from the eastern end of the better wall, no facing-stones of any kind were found. At the eastern end of this whole extent of rough facing the width of the *ὑπόνομος* amounts to about .66 m. Its actual bed was much narrower and definitely marked in a very interesting way. A hard stratum of white clay about .035 m. in thickness, resting upon thinner strata no less dense, was found to

extend from the western end of the facing of small stones to the central tank, sinking gradually from a depth of about .60 m. below the orchestra surface at the former point to a depth of 1.07 m. below the lower side of the tank's capstone. It is this stratum which makes a foundation for the side walls. Only in the central line of the *ὑπόνομος* a channel, varying in width between .30 m. and .36 m., had been cut through to a depth of from .25 m. to .30 m. On either side of this channel, occupying the remaining width of the *ὑπόνομος*, the clay edge appears in its original undisturbed state. Perhaps it was because this clay is so impermeable that close confining side walls were not thought necessary; at least it is noteworthy that such walls do not exist in just this portion of the length of the *ὑπόνομος*.

At the eastern extremity of the rough facing (at a point .83 m. from the central tank), the bounding walls are immediately continued by two large oblong blocks, one on each side, set obliquely so as to open out in fan shape into the central tank. Thus the *ὑπόνομος* at its entrance to the tank becomes almost as wide—.965 m.—as the basin itself. The mode of construction is here rather careless, in that the corners of the entrance-stones are not worked away but left projecting beyond the western facing of the tank. The bed of the *ὑπόνομος* falls very rapidly just before reaching the tank. This central basin is irregularly oblong in shape, 1.75 m. in depth and well faced in the same manner as the continuation of the *ὑπόνομος* toward A. Its interior measurements are as follows: length (east to west) along south wall 1.425 m., along north wall, 1.30 m.; breadth at western end 1.315 m., at eastern end, 1.285 m.; midway between, 1.30 m. As has been said, virgin soil in the tank was found about .50 m. below the level reached in the previous excavation. Therefore the column-drum which stands in the southwest corner, and was previously supposed to mark the tank's original depth, must have fallen or been placed in its present position when the basin was already partly filled with accumulated earth. It could have had no structural connection with the *ὑπόνομος*; in fact its appearance and its unfinished condition show that wherever used it could have served only as ordinary building material. A few of the channels are

fully worked out, others indicated, the rest of the circumference quite rough and marked with various irregular holes, doubtless for clamping or some kindred purpose.

In the space between the central tank and the wall *A* the *ὑπόνομος* maintains an almost uniform breadth and depth, while the side walls are of far better construction than in the part already described. They consist only of squared stones set for the most part in three regular courses. Here also the passage is well paved with slightly concave blocks, the channel thus formed being coated throughout with cement. This concave flooring extends from the tank to a point almost exactly beneath the west edge of wall *A*, and 1.14 m. west of a plummet dropped from the lowest of the steps between *A* and *B*. From this point for a distance of 2.75 m., that is to a point .25 m. east of a plummet dropped from the highest step, there is no pavement but the natural rock. Further under the stage-structure the *ὑπόνομος* sinks through and below the ledge, so that its bed is here only the soil itself. For a distance of 4.80 m. eastward from the central tank, the side-walls are in perfect condition. Then follows a space of 2.45 m. where the north wall is broken away down to the lowest course. At 3.35 m. further on, that is at a point just east of the steps, the artificial facing ends, and for the rest of its course the *ὑπόνομος* is bounded only by natural walls of rock or earth. Its breadth is constant, as has been said, between the central tank and wall *A*, but everywhere decreases gradually from bottom to top, a result probably due to pressure of the earth from without. Thus close by the tank the breadth varies from .785 m. to .62 m., under wall *A* from .785 m. to .665 m.

The often mentioned steps are situated between walls *A* and *B*, and lead downward into the *ὑπόνομος* in the direction toward orchestra and cavea. Between the lowest step and the pavement of the *ὑπόνομος* there is a clear space of .57 m.; that is, the steps are supported at either end by the side walls into which they are built. It seemed quite certain, however, that the steps were a later addition. The whole structure of the side walls here showed a loose patching together of irregularly shaped stones instead of the usual careful building with rectangular blocks, a result which could most naturally

be ascribed to a later rebuilding. Two more facts tended to confirm this conclusion. First, the two upper steps (fourth and fifth) are made up of a single architrave-block which could not have been thus re-used in the period of good Greek workmanship. Secondly the three lower steps are covered on the east side with a thin regular coating of cement. A similar coating was also found on the upper surface of the stones that form the two lower steps, wherever protected: that is, beneath the incumbent portions of the next steps and of the stones of the side facing. This cement could not possibly have been first applied to the stones in their present position. Therefore the steps must date from a period at least considerably later than the earliest mortar-built structures, so, *a fortiori*, later than the *ὑπόνομος* itself. The steps vary noticeably in dimensions: in height between .162 m. and .295 m., in tread between .252 m. and .295 m. The architrave which forms the two upper steps is so long (1.424 m.) as to project in both directions beyond the side walls of the *ὑπόνομος*.<sup>7</sup> Its upper surface makes the fifth step, while the next below is only hewn out very roughly. The face of the architrave and the *regulæ* bore still a slight coating of stucco.<sup>8</sup>

From the steps straight backward under the stage-structure the *ὑπόνομος* is a rock-cut passage without artificial side-walls, but roofed with stone slabs as before. The width remains nearly constant, on the whole decreasing slightly; the depth increases considerably, both with the actual fall of the channel bed and because the ground on which the stage-structure stands is higher than the orchestra. Between walls *D* and *E*, that is, at a distance of 10.40 m. from the steps, the passage is continued by a tunnel, 1.49 m. high and .56 m. wide at its initial point. The depth has here become so great that the roof of the tunnel is 1.60 m. below the soil. The cutting is only in part through rock. The ledge is thin and slopes toward the surface so considerably as to be quite above the

<sup>7</sup> Other dimensions are as follows; width, .532 m.; height to *tænia*, .395 m. total height, 452 m.; length of *regulæ*, .264 m.; distance between *regulæ*, .365 m.; length of *guttæ*, .028 m.; diameter of *guttæ*, .026 m.

<sup>8</sup> Upon the surface of the stucco were to be seen traces of what may possibly have been red paint.



tunnel, at a distance from its mouth of 1.42 m. About 1.58 m. further on the tunnel bends away at a considerable angle toward the south ; that is, toward the lower plateau on which the town lay. It runs now through a soft clay soil, and is just high enough to admit of easy passage. This change in direction seemed to us to confirm fully Mr. Earle's conjecture<sup>9</sup> as to the ultimate course of the *ὑπόνομος*, and we deemed it both unnecessary and impracticable to follow the tunnel further. So far as we went we had been guided first by the constant discovery of broken pottery, and secondly by the fact that the earth which had washed in to fill the tunnel was of an entirely different character from the original soil.

The purpose of this subterranean passage, leading as described from the circular conduit through and beyond the stage-structure, was made more sure by a series of levels taken at various points in its course. These showed a gradual and continuous descent, amounting in the space between the conduit and the central tank to .84 m.; between the central tank and wall *A*, that is, the paved portion of the passage, to .135 m.; between walls *A* and *D* to .609 m. There seemed no doubt therefore that the *ὑπόνομος* had served as an outlet for the circular conduit. It is true that the bed-clay of the conduit at its middle point lies at present below the connecting gutter-stone. But the conduit had been in great part excavated before our work began, and it appeared probable that the additional soil which we removed was really native soil disintegrated by the rains to which it was laid bare. Even if this difficulty were not so easily solved, the discovery here of such a gutter-stone could admit of but one interpretation, namely that the conduit had emptied at this point into the *ὑπόνομος*. By way of further confirmation, it was found that the conduit's rim was here .185 m. lower than at either northern or southern extremity. Doubtless the bed of the conduit sloped in the same way, so that water would run toward the middle instead of toward either end.

If this is true, the *ὑπόνομος* must be as old as the theatre itself, and at that earliest period must have served as a drain. But several facts of construction tend to show that this was

<sup>9</sup> See above, p. 3.

not its only office. First, the existence of a central "tank," as it has been called, following former phraseology. We find a difficulty in explaining why such a tank or basin should be situated at just this point in the course of a simple drain." Secondly, the steps between walls *A* and *B*, which, it must be noted, lead us from the *ὑπόνομος* to the interior of the stage-structure. All becomes clearer if we assume that here as at Eretria " there was a concealed passageway between the stage-structure and the centre of the orchestra. Furthermore, in just this space between centre and steps, and here only, the *ὑπόνομος* is well revetted and paved. This peculiarity also is explained by the supposition just made. The steps, as we have said, were probably a later addition, but the time of their building is not necessarily the time when the *ὑπόνομος* was first used by actors. Wooden steps may well have been used here until replaced by a permanent structure. We assume that the central tank also was furnished with steps. The fact that none were discovered would indicate that these were always of wood and not of stone. The one uncertain point is whether the side-walls and paving between the central tank and wall *A* belong to the same period with *cavea* and stage-structure. This is a matter of technical criticism. To us there seemed no distinct evidence of a difference in time. But whenever this portion of the *ὑπόνομος* was so faced and so paved, it was for the purpose only of making it a con-

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Earle desires the insertion of the following note as an expression of his opinion as to the purpose of the *ὑπόνομος*: " Besides the water from the semi-circular conduit, the tank at the centre of the orchestra received the drip from what would seem to have been two altars, one on either side of the orchestra. Though the levels of the theatre have not been fully taken, I believe that this tank was also intended to receive the surface drainage from the orchestra and *parodi*, after the manner of the drain of a modern stone court; for the rainfall at Sicyon is at times sharp, and the hard clay absorbs water with extreme slowness, if at all, so that there would have been in the orchestra, from time to time, a considerable accumulation of water, which could hardly escape in any other way than that suggested. When it is urged that for the mere passage of water the *ὑπόνομος* is unnecessarily large, it seems to me that it is forgotten that the largest portion of the passage is under the stage-structure, where it was covered entirely with slabs and could hardly have served any other purpose than that of a drain. It was obviously much easier to cut down through a crust of soft rock than to tunnel it. No tunnelling was done until the *ὑπόνομος* had reached an upward slope in the rock formation."

M. L. EARLE.

<sup>11</sup> pp. 83 ff.

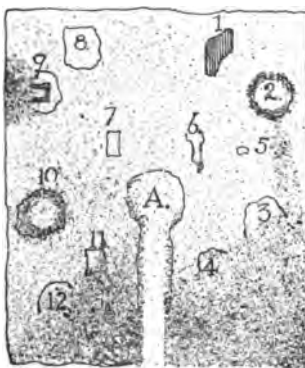
venient means of communication between stage-structure and orchestra.

We have next to consider the two shallow, superficial gutters that meet the tank at its two eastern corners. They are composed of grooved blocks of stone, and have the bottom of the groove coated with cement to facilitate the passage of water. The individual blocks have been so greatly displaced by earthquakes or by other causes (compare PLATE I), that in considering the question of their original inclination we must not place too much dependence upon their present levels. In the southern gutter levels were taken at four points, respectively 1.70 m., 3.70 m., 5.60 m. and 8.50 m. from the tank, which we shall designate by the letters *e*, *f*, *g*, and *h*. At *e* the gutter was .028 m. higher than at the tank; at *f*, .092 m.; at *g*, .083 m. and at *h*, the end of the gutter, .125 m. In this case, therefore, the steady descent from the side of the orchestra to the tank is interrupted only in the portion between *h* and *f*. In the case of the northern gutter the results are less satisfactory. The various sections have been more disturbed, and a portion of the gutter at the side of the orchestra has entirely disappeared. Levels were taken at three points, respectively 2 m., 3.75 m. and 7.50 m., from the tank, which we shall designate as *c*, *b*, and *a*. At *c* the gutter is .041 m. higher than at the tank; at *b*, .066 m.; but at *a*, the present northern extremity, it is only .016 m. higher. This last figure, however, is probably to be explained by the displaced condition of the blocks already mentioned. If, moreover, we compare the first two levels with those taken in the southern gutter, the conclusion must be that on this side also there was a steady descent from the side of the orchestra to the tank.

The two structures at the sides of the orchestra from which these gutters lead have next to be described. The one on the south side is composed of three stones. The first, about .80 m. broad by .94 m. long, is separated from the passage in front of the lowest row of seats by the two others, which are of about the same length but have a breadth of about .64 m. only. Of the latter the eastern one, which was moved from its position, was found to have two *tæniæ* cut on the side that had lain nearest the seats. Of these the one along the edge

was about .14 m. broad, and the other about .12 m. The first stone has a central boring, that passes entirely through the stone, and a gutter from this to the edge that directly continues the stone gutter of the orchestra. About this central boring are worked six large holes and several small ones, of which some are still filled with lead. The exact position and dimensions of these holes can be ascertained from the following table and illustration (Fig. 3, No. 1).

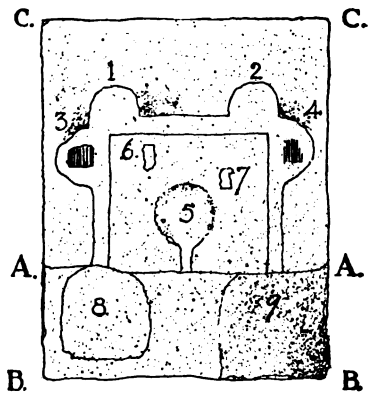
- A. .42 m. from south edge of stone. Original breadth apparently about .13 m.  
The gutter from A to the edge is about .09 m. wide at the bottom. Its upper edges are badly worn away.
1. About .20 m. from west edge of stone, and about .04 m. from south edge. Entirely filled with lead.
  2. About .145 m. from east edge, and about .04 m. from the south. Present diameter about .11 m. and depth about .105 m.
  3. About .04 m. from the west edge, and .17 m. from the south. Present diameter about .11 m. and depth about .105 m.
  - 4 and 5 are both larger at the top than at the bottom. The edges of both appear to be broken away.
  6. Contains some lead. On the east the stone is broken away from the hole to the edge, but from its appearance the hole originally corresponded to 2 in size.
  7. About .285 m. from the west edge and about .32 m. from the south. Depth about .08 m.
  8. About .28 m. from the east edge and about .325 m. from the south edge. Depth about .06 m.
  9. About .04 m. from the east edge and .49 m. from the south. Depth about .092 m. Edges worn away. Smaller at the bottom than at the surface.
  10. Contains a mass of lead. The northwest corner of the stone is so badly broken away that the dimensions of the hole cannot be made out.
  11. About .21 m. from the east edge and about .65 m. from the south. Apparently it was originally rectangular.
  12. Apparently corresponded to 11, but owing to the condition of the stone no measurements could be taken.
  13. Apparently a circular cavity. Depth at the south side about .075 m.



No. 1

STONE BROKEN AND WORN  
LEAD

SCALE .05 = 1"



No. 2

STONE BROKEN AND WORN  
LEAD

SCALE .05 = 1"

FIG. 3.

At the northern side the structure is composed of two stones, and is described in Mr. Earle's report. In view, however, of certain new facts that were discovered, some further description must be given of the larger block which was raised by Mr. Earle. This stone (Fig. 3, No. 2) is .965 m. long by .77 m. broad, and was found standing on edge (the edge *BB* on the ground) in the position in which Mr. Earle left it. A portion of the upper surface, between *AA* and *BB*, .295 m. broad, is worked away .07 m. lower than the rest of the stone. On the left side of this strip, as one faces the stone, there is a shallow cavity (8) about .05 m. deep, with a rim about .055 m. broad. To the right is a similar cavity (9), but the rim has been entirely worn or broken away. The ledge between the two cavities is about .23 m. broad. On the higher and larger portion of the stone is a rectangular space surrounded by a shallow channel that is enlarged at either upper corner in the form of two semicircular cavities. Within this rectangle there are two small holes and a circular boring that runs entirely through the stone and from which a shallow channel about .045 m. wide, runs to the edge *AA*. The position of the various holes, their size, and condition will be seen from the plan (Fig. 3, No. 2) and the following table.

1. Upper edge about .18 m. from the top of the stone. Breadth at bottom apparently about .12 m., but the right edge is broken away. Depth about .085 m. In the centre is a smaller and deeper cavity.
  2. About .165 m. from the top of the stone. Original breadth at the bottom apparently about .13 m., but the stone is broken to the right. Depth about .085 m. Near the centre, as in 1, is a smaller and deeper cavity. Distance between 1 and 2 about .23 m. Channel between 1 and 2 is .025 m. deep and about .04 m. broad.
  3. About .04 m. from left edge of stone. Breadth, about .11 m. It contains a mass of lead, .045 m. by .065 m.
  4. Corresponds in its dimensions to 3. It likewise contains a mass of lead.
- Holes 3 and 4, and the entire channel, were almost filled with cement. Some cement was also found in holes 1 and 2.
6. About .275 m. from left edge of stone and immediately below the horizontal channel. Its dimensions are about .06 m. by .03 m. but the edges are broken away. Depth about .065 m. Filled with cement.
  7. About .265 m. from right edge of stone and about .10 m. from the horizontal channel. Its dimensions are about .055 m. by .03 m. Depth about .09 m. Filled with cement.
  5. About .44 m. from top of stone and .30 m. from right and left edges. Original diameter about .18 m. but the edge, especially to the right, is badly broken.

The two gutters on the under side, mentioned by Mr. Earle, run from the central boring to the right edge, as you face the stone, and to the bottom edge *BB*. Imbedded in the cement with which the latter is filled is a lead pipe, choked with a deposit of earth. This pipe, then, must have served as

the connection between the central boring and the orchestra-gutter after the groove had been closed with cement.

Whether these two structures supported small altars, as Mr. Earle suggested, or served some other purpose, it seems impossible to decide in their present state.

In addition to this work in connection with the *ὑπόνομος* one other task was undertaken. The wall *Α Α* " consisted of a wall of earth, stone, bits of tile, etc., from beneath which there projected toward the orchestra a marble surbase. For 4.32 m. to the south of the *ὑπόνομος* the upper portion of the wall was removed and disclosed a row of stone blocks behind the marble ones (comp. Fig. 4 and PL. I. No. 2). In these stones, which have an average width of .44 m. is worked a series of large and small holes regularly arranged. We find

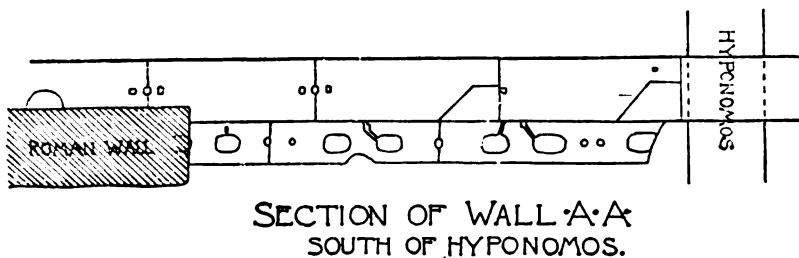


FIG. 4.

two large holes quite near each other, then a broad space in which are two smaller holes, then two of the larger size near each other, and so on. Though the general arrangement is thus regular, the holes themselves and the spaces between them vary considerably. The broader spaces between the large holes vary from .56 m. to .75 m. and the narrower from .20 m. to .26 m. The small holes differ so greatly in form and dimensions that no general statement can be made as respects them. The larger holes are for the most part rectangular in shape, and vary between .23 m. and .35 m. in length and from .13 m. to .18 m. in breadth. From some of these holes a shallow channel runs to the edge of the stone that rests against the marble surbase, and there ends in a small"

<sup>19</sup> Compare PLAN, *Papers of the Am. School at Athens*, v. p. 6.

rectangular hole. Some of these channels and holes still contain lead.

The same series of holes was found to be continued in the remaining blocks that were exposed ; namely, those in the two doorways and the one just north of the *ὑπόνομος*. They seem to remove all doubt as to the original superstructure. These holes must have been made to receive the pillars of wood or of stone which originally served to support the superincumbent portion of the stage-structure."

In connection with this subject it may be well to describe more in detail than was done in the original report the separate blocks of the marble surbase. They are by no means uniform in length, but vary between 1.413 m. and 1.685 m. The first and second stones to the south of the *ὑπόνομος* have the further left-hand corner, as one stands before them facing the stage, cut away in the shape of a trapezoid. That this served no purpose in their present position is shown by the fact that the spaces thus formed are carefully filled with blocks of reddish sandstone coated with a white cement. The third stone has both edges worn away and has apparently at some time served as the threshold of a door. In the top of the fourth stone, which is still partly covered by the wall of earth and small stones, there exists a shallow circular cavity, apparently made to receive a column. The fifth stone to the south of the *ὑπόνομος* and the first, second, and fourth to the north have the further right-hand corner cut off in an oblique line. In the fifth and sixth stones to the north, the further left-hand corner has been similarly cut away. At the left end of the third stone to the north, the letter *E* is lightly incised on the upper surface. The letter is not parallel with the edge of the stone, but is set at a slight angle. Though these facts are not sufficient to determine the original use of the blocks, they prove that the stones are not now in their original position.

CARLETON L. BROWNSON,  
CLARENCE H. YOUNG.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Dörpfeld presumably referred to these holes and anticipated this report in his announcement that he had identified at Sicyon the substructure of a wooden proscenium, *Mitth. Athen*, xvii. 1892, p. 283.





DISCOVERIES AT PLATAEA IN 1890.

VOTIVE INSCRIPTION.

ΑΙΔΕ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ

- |     |                    |      |   |                   |
|-----|--------------------|------|---|-------------------|
|     | ΚΛΕΩΑΜΜΑΤΙΑ·ΥΟΧΡΥΣ | ΥΠ Φ | Α | ΦΙΑΛΗΝΑΥΣΙΠΤΑΦΙΑΛ |
|     | ΔΑΜΩΦΙΑΛΗΝΤΕ       |      |   | Τ ΧΡΥ             |
|     | ΝΙΚΑΡΕΤΑΦΙΑΛΗΝ     |      |   | ΘΕΟΓΙΤΑ           |
|     | ΝΙΚΑΡΕΤΑΦΙΑΛΗΝ     |      |   | Ρ                 |
| 5.  | ΦΙΑΛΗΝΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑ    |      |   | ΤΥΧΙΣ             |
|     | ΦΙΑΛΗΝΚΛΕΟΜΑ:      |      |   |                   |
|     | ΜΙΤΑΦΙΑΛΗΝΑΜ       |      |   |                   |
|     | ΪΙΑΛΗΝΘΕΟΪΟΤΑ      |      |   | ΑΤΕΙΑ             |
|     | ΞΑΝΘΙΠΤΑ·ΩΜΙΣΚ     |      |   | ΝΙΚΩ              |
| 10. | ΣΩΣΙΧΑ·ΟΥΚΕΦΑΛ     |      |   |                   |
|     | ΛΑΜΠΑΔΙΟΝΕΝΩ       |      |   |                   |
|     | ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΙΑΕΝΩ       |      |   |                   |
|     | ΛΑΜΠΑΔΙΟΝΑ         |      |   |                   |
|     | ΛΑΜΠΑΔΙΟΝ·ΑΝΑ      |      |   |                   |
| 15. | ·ΝΟΤ·...·ΥΣΟΥ      |      |   |                   |
|     | ΙΔΙΑΔΥΟ            |      |   |                   |
|     | ΝΠΟΛΥ              |      |   |                   |
|     | ΑΛΗΝΑ              |      |   |                   |
|     | ΟΜΑΧΗ              |      |   |                   |
| 20. | - ΙΔΙΑ             |      |   |                   |
|     | ΥΚΑΣΤΗΦΙΑ          |      |   |                   |
|     | ΛΑΜΠΑΔΙΟΝΕΥ        |      |   |                   |
|     | ΥΠΟΝΛΑΜΠΑ          |      |   |                   |
|     | Ι·ΥΞΙΣΜΕΛ          |      |   |                   |
| 25. | Ε·ΓΙΤΑΔΑΚΤΥΛ       |      |   |                   |
|     | ·ΝΩΤΙΔΙΟΝΛΑ        |      |   |                   |
|     | ··ΛΙΣΤΑΛΑΜΠΑ       |      |   |                   |
|     | ··ΑΛΗΝΝΙΚΑΡΕ       |      |   |                   |
|     | ·ΑΡΔΑΜΗΑΛΥ         |      |   |                   |
| 30. | ·ΟΛΥΚΑΣΤΗ          |      |   |                   |
|     | ·ΡΙΑΛΕΥΚΑΣΤ        |      |   |                   |
|     | ΔΑΙΔΑΔΗΜΗΤ         |      |   |                   |
|     | ΜΝΑΣΑΡΧΑ           |      |   |                   |
|     | ·ΟΣΜΙΑΛΑ           |      |   |                   |

Αἶδε ἀνέθηκαν.

- Κλεὼ ἀμμάτια [δ]ύο χρυσ[ά] υπ φ α φιάλην, Λυσίππα φιάλ[ην]  
 Δαμῶ φιάλην τε τ χρυ[σοῦν]  
 Νικαρέτα φιάλην, Θεογίτα  
 Νικαρέτα φιάλην, ρ  
 5. φιάλην, Καλλιστρά[τα] [Εὐ]τυχίς  
 φιάλην, Κλεομά[χα]  
 Μίτα φιάλην, Ἄμ  
 φιάλην, Θεοζότα [Πολυκρ]άτεια  
 Ξανθίππα [β]ωμίσκ[ον] Νικῶ  
 10. Σωσίχα [β]ουκεφαλ[ήν]  
 λαμπάδιον ἐνώ[τιον]  
 Σωσικλεία ἐνώ[τιον]  
 λαμπάδιον, Ἄ  
 λαμπάδιον, Σ[υ]άνα  
 15. ἐνωτ[ίδιον χρυσοῦ][ν]  
 [ἐνωτ]ίδια δύο  
 ν Πολυ[κάστη]  
 φι]άλην, Ἄ  
 20. [Ἄνδρ]ομάχη or [Πρωτ]ομάχη  
 [Ἐνω]τίδια  
 [Πολ]υκάστη φιά[λην]  
 λαμπάδιον, Εὐ  
 [τ]ύπον λαμπά[διον]  
 Ζ[ε]υξίς μελ  
 25. Ε[ὐ]γίτα δακτύλ[ιον]  
 [ἐ]νωτίδιον λα[μπάδιον]  
 [Φι]λίστα λαμπά[διον]  
 [φι]άλην, Νικαρέ[τα]  
 [Κ]αρδάμη ἄλυ[σιν]  
 30. [Π]ολυκάστη  
 [ἐ]ρία, Λευκάστ[η]  
 δαίδα, Δημητ[ρία]  
 Μνασάρχα  
 [Κ]οσμία λα[μπάδιον] or δα[ίδα]

35. 1οΧΙΝΗΤ  
·ΑΙΔΑΘΕ  
ΟΙΑΛΗΝΑΝ  
ΟΜΟΛΩΙΣ  
ΚΟΡΗΤΩ
40. ΉΕΙΜΟΚ  
·ΛΛΙΣ  
·ΑΜΤΑ  
ΙΔΙ  
·ΟΡΗΤΩ
45. Η  
···ΛΗΝ  
···ο  
·ΑΡΔΑΜ  
·ΕοΔοΤ
50. ·ΡΗΣΙΜΑ  
·ΙΚΑΣΙΣ  
Π  
···ΟΓΙΤΑ  
···ΑΛΑΜΙ
55. ΔΕΞ  
ΔΑΣ  
·ΕΝ  
·Ρ  
ΦΙΑΛΗΙ
60. ·ΕΩΝΙΣ ΝΥΣΙΑ  
·ΕΜΙΣΤΩΔΑΙΔΑΚΟΡΗΤΩ  
ΙΩΠΥΡΑΔΑΙΔΑΤΤΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΔ ΝΙ  
ΔΑΙΔΑΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΑΦΙΑΛΗΝΦΙΛΩΤΙΣΛΑΜ·ΑΔΑ  
ΑΓΗΣΙΣΛΑΜΤΑΔΑΝΙΚΑΣΙΣΤΥΤ·ΝΕΥΤΥΧΑΤΥΤ
65. ΚΕΦΑΛΗΝΤΑΝΑΡΜΩΕΝΩΙΔΙΑΔΥΟΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΑ  
·ΥΒΟΥΛΑΙΩΝΗΝΑΡΓΥΡΑΝΚΑΡΔΑΜΗΔΑΙΔΑ·Υ  
·ΝΩΙΔΙΑΔΥΟΣΥΡΑΔΑΙΔΑΤΤΑΝΑΡΜΩΔΑΙΔΑΣΤ  
·ΑΙΔΑΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΣΔΑΙΔΑΑΓΗΣΙΣΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΜΑΛΑ...ΤΥΤΟΝ  
·ΟΛΥΚΑΣΤΗΔΑΙΔΑΣΤΕΝΤΕΔΑΦΝΙΣΔΑΙΔΑΕΤΙΝΙΚΑΔΑΙΔΑΑΓΗΣΙ
70. ·ΑΙΔΑΚΟΡΗΤΩΔΑΙΔΑΙΕΥΞΙΣΦΙΑΛΗΝΟΝΑΣΙΜΑΤΥΤΤΟΝΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ  
·ΑΙΔΑΔΑΜΟΔΙΚΑΔΑΚΤΥΛΙΟΝΑΚΑΡΗΧΡΥΣΟΥΝΚΛΕΩΜΗΔΑΙΔΑ  
·ΤΥΛΙΔΙΟΝΑΡΓΥΡΟΥΝΞΕΝΟΚΡΙΤΑΕΝΩΙΔΙΑΔΥΟΛΑΜΤΡΙΧΑΔΑΙ  
·ΑΡΔΑΜΗΔΑΙΔΑΤΤΟΛΥΚΑΣΤΗΒΟΥΚΕΦΑΛΗΝΜΝΑΣΙΚΛΕΙΑΔΑΙ  
·ΝΙΟΧΑΤΑΕΦΑΥΤΗΣΣΥΡΑΔΑΙΔΑΤΤΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΔΑΙΔΑΚΛΕΟΜΤΙ
75. ΙΔΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΔΑΙΔΑΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΙΣΕΡΩΤΙΣΚ  
ΥΚΕΦΑΛΑΣΙΡΙΣΤΙΝΑΚΑ  
ΙΣΗΝ
77. ΩΦΙΑΛΗ  
ΑΜΩ  
ΔΑΙΔΑ  
ΑΙΔΑ  
ΑΙΔΑ  
ΠΑΤΡΙ  
ΛΑΜΠΑΔΑ  
Ω·ο·Υ  
Α  
ΣΟΒΑΡΟΝ  
ΑΔΑΙΔΙΧΙ

35. Μοχίνη τ  
 [δ]αΐδα Θε  
 φιάλην Ἴαν  
 Ὀμολῶς  
 Κορητῶ
40. Τειμοκ[ράτεια]  
 [Κ]αλλισ[τῶ] or [Κ]αλλισ[τράτα]  
 [Λ]αμπά[διον]  
 Ἡδί[στα]  
 [Κ]ορητῶ
45. η  
 [φιά]λην
50. [Κ]αρδάμ[η]  
 [Θ]εοδότ[α]  
 [Χ]ρησίμα  
 [Ν]ικασίς  
 π  
 [Θε]ογίτα  
 Ἰδ[α] λαμπ[άδιον]
55. δεξ  
 δας  
 εν
60. ρ  
 φιάλην  
 [Λ]εωνίς [Διο]νυσία  
 [Θ]εμιστῶ δαΐδα, Κορητῶ  
 Ζωπύρα δαΐδα, Παραμόνα δ[αΐδα] νι [Εὐ]πατρί[α].  
 δαΐδα, Φιλοξένα φιάλην, Φιλωτίς λαμπ[π]άδα, λαμπάδα  
 Ἄγησις λαμπάδα, Νικασίς τύπ[ο]ν, Εὐτύχα τύπ[ο]ν, ω [β]ου-
65. κεφαλὴν, Παναρμῶ ἐνώδια δύο, Ἀθηνοδώρα  
 [Ε]ύβουλα ζώνην ἀργυρῶν, Καρδάμη δαΐδα, . . . υ Σοβαρὸν  
 [ἐ]νώδια δύο, Σύρα δαΐδα, Παναρμῶ δαΐδας τ [δατδ]α, Δαιδίχη  
 [δ]αΐδα, Ἐλευθερίς δαΐδα, Ἄγησις στεφάνωμα, Λα[μάχη  
 δικά] τύπον,
70. [Π]ολυκάστη δαΐδας πέντε, Δαφνίς δαΐδα, Ἐπινίκα δαΐδα, Ἄγησις  
 [δ]αΐδα, Κορητῶ δαΐδα, Ζευξίς φιάλην, Ὀνασίμα τύπον, Διουυσία  
 [δ]αΐδα, Δαμοδίκια δακτύλιον ἀκαρῆ χρυσοῦν, Κλεώμη δαΐδα . . .  
 [σ]τυλίδιον ἀργυροῦν, Ξενοκρίτα ἐνώδια δύο, Λαμπρίχα δαΐ[δα].  
 [Κ]αρδάμη δαΐδα, Πολυκάστη βουκεφαλὴν, Μνασικλεία δαΐ[δα].  
 Ἡ[ν]ιόχα τὰ ἐφ' αὐτῆς, Σύρα δαΐδα, Παραμόνα δαΐδα, Κλεώμη
75. [δα]ΐδα, Ἀριστοκράτεια δαΐδα, Φιλοξενίς ἐρωτίσκ[ο]ν,  
 [βο]υκεφαλῆς, Ἴρις πίνακα  
 [χρυ]σῆν.
- ω φιαλή[ν]  
 [Δ]αμῶ  
 δαΐδα  
 [δ]αΐδα  
 [δ]αΐδα  
 α  
 [δ]ατδ  
 α  
 δικά

The stone bearing the inscription here published was found by Dr. Waldstein in March 1890, covering, with another stone which contained a part of the Edict of Diocletian relating to prices, a grave adjoining the wall of a Byzantine church near the southeast part of the old city-wall of Plataea. The church is marked VI-V on the map showing the field of excavations by the American School (vol. v, p. 256). The slab is of coarse-grained marble, probably of island origin. The space covered by the inscription is 0.85 m. long and 0.38 m. broad at the top, widening out to about 0.41 m. at the bottom. The stone is finished at the top with a series of mouldings, curved and plain, surmounted by five projecting serrations. It is broken obliquely across from the third line on the right to the fifteenth line on the left.

It was found lying with the inscribed side downward, but must at some time have been very much exposed to wear, either from footsteps or from falling water, so that the inscription is nearly all obliterated beyond recovery. About 12 lines at the bottom may be read almost entirely. Besides this a narrow strip along the left side yields something in nearly every one of the 77 lines which appear on the stone. On the right, we get very little from line 3 to line 58. But for a small fragment found near the main slab, containing an inscribed surface about as large as the palm of the hand, it might have been difficult to determine just how many lines the inscription contained. This fragment shows the concluding word of the inscription.

After the heading, ΑΙΔΕ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΝ, comes a list of female names, followed in nearly every case by a single offering, but in several cases by two offerings not connected by a conjunction. The letters are 7 millimetres high, those of the heading 9 millimetres. We are able to see, with tolerable certainty, that the stone-cutter has arranged his letters so that every line begins with the beginning of a word, except that *βουκεφαλήν* is divided at the end of line 64. As each part of this word made an intelligible unit by itself, this was probably not felt to be a deviation from the principle adopted. Controlled by this principle, the stone-cutter sometimes brings his line to an end before reaching the edge of the stone. This appears to be the case in lines 60 and 61. Line 68 is especially interesting. Here, besides stopping somewhat short of the edge, he seems to have felt that he was going to fill out the space poorly and to have spread the word *τύπον* out of due proportion to the rest. On the other hand, in the next line he saw

himself getting near the end of the line with a good many letters still on his hands. He accordingly crowded them in, so that the ninth letter from the end of that line stands under the first letter of *τύπον*; thus in equal spaces we have in one case five letters, and in the other nine. In the latter case the *sigma* of *Ἀγησίς* is crowded nearly over the edge of the stone. A more marked case of irregularity, however, is seen on comparing the beginnings of the first and second lines. The stone-cutter appears to have started in the first line with letters of a somewhat smaller size than he liked, for in the second line 12 letters fill the space into which, in the first line, 18 are crowded. On account of these irregularities, it is difficult to tell just how many letters are to be supplied where the edge of the stone is chipped away.

In spite of these irregularities, however, the inscription, where it is visible, has a general appearance of neatness and evenness. When viewed in various lights more letters may be made out than appears at first sight possible. Perhaps an eye practised in reading obscure inscriptions would elicit a few more words from the worn surface of the stone.

#### NAMES.

The inscription yields with reasonable certainty 62 names of women given without the father's name. It consists, in fact, largely of names. But it is not for this reason devoid of interest. As Greek names are embodied thoughts, often highly poetical thoughts, a new name, in an inscription, with a meaning more or less transparent, makes some amends for a lack of matter of historical importance.

In the following list they are arranged alphabetically :

Ἀγησίς	Ἐπιτίκα	Θεογίτα
Ἀθηνοδώρα	[Ε]ὐβούλα	Θεοδότα
[Ἄνδρ]ομάχη	Εὐγίτα	Θεοζότα
Ἀριστοκράτεια	[Εὐ]πατρία	Ἴρις
Δαιδίχη	Εὐτύχα	Καλλιστρά[τα]
Δαμώ	[Εὐ]τυχίς	Καρδάμη
Δαμοδίκα	Ζευξίς	Κλεομά[χα]
Δαφνίς	Ζωπύρα	Κλεόμη
Δημητ[ρία]	Ἡδί[στα]	Κλεώ
Διονυσία	[Ἡ]νιόχα	Κορητώ
Ἐλευθερίς	[Θ]εμιστώ	[Κ]οσμία

Λαμπρίχα	Νικό	Σ[υ]άνα
Λευκάστ[η]	Ξανθίππα	Σωσίκλεια
[Λ]εωνίς	Ξενοκρίτα	Σωσίχα
Λυσίππα	Ὅμολωίς	Τειμοκ[ράτεια]
Μίτα	Ὀνασίμα	[Φι]λίστα
Μνασάρχα	Παναρμώ	Φιλοξένα
Μνασίκλεια	Παραμόνα	Φιλοξένις
Μοχίγη	Πολυκάστη	Φιλωτίς
Νικαρέτα	Σοβαρόν	[Χ]ρησίμα
Νικασίς	Σύρα	

It is not my purpose to comment here on every one of these 62 names. Most of them need no comment; names like Ἀριστοκράτεια and Σωσίκλεια are too common. The first thing worth noticing in the list is, perhaps, that certain names recur quite frequently. Πολυκάστη appears five times, Καρδάμη and Κορητώ four times, Ἀγησίς and Νικαρέτα three times, Δαμώ, Διονυσία, Ζευξίς, Θεογίτα, Κλεόμη, Νικασίς, Παναρμώ, Παραμόνα and Σύρα twice. Unless the inscription records gifts extending over a long period, we must suppose five different Polycastes, and infer that the name was a favorite one at Plataea.

One is at once struck with the Boeotian coloring of these names. Almost any Boeotian inscription containing a list of names affords some of those on this list. The one name, however, that is distinctively Boeotian is Ὅμολωίς, from a stem that is very conspicuous in Boeotian proper names. Homoloīs is the name of the gate of Thebes at which Amphiarus made his attack (Aesch., *Sept.*, 573), and the masculine form, Ὅμολώιος, is a common epithet of Zeus in Boeotia.<sup>1</sup> The two compounds with -γίτα, Εὐγίτα, "good neighbor," and Θεογίτα "neighbor to the gods," if not distinctively Boeotian names, are great favorites in Boeotia.<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps worthy of remark that Θεογεΐτων in Dem. xviii. 296 is a Theban.

<sup>1</sup> AHRENS (*De Dial. Aeol.*, p. 76) endorses the derivation of Suidas and Photius, who make this a lengthened form of Aeolic ὄμολος for δμαλός. It would then mean "the even one," referring either to justice or to peaceableness. But this derivation is regarded as fanciful by MEISTER (*Griech. Dialekte*, I, p. 51).

<sup>2</sup> MEISTER, *Register zur Sammlung der griech. Dialekteninschriften*. The same list will perhaps show a recurrence frequent enough to be marked of such names as Ζώπιος, Ὀνάσιμος, Παράμονος, all of which occur, the two latter more than once, in the short inscription from Thebes published by RANGABÉ, *Antiq. hellén.*, No. 705.

As names that may be distinctively Boeotian, we may add tentatively : *Καρδάμη* (see Meister, *Boeot. Inschr. Nachtrag*, No. 499, in Collitz, *Sammlung der griech. Dialekteninschriften*), *Μίρα* (Meister, No. 506), *Παναρμώ* (Meister, No. 721), "one who unites everybody." Unusual names not appearing in Pape, *Griech. Eigennamen*, or in other lists which I have consulted, are : *Δαιδίχη*, *Κορητώ*, *Λαμπρίχα*, *Μοχίνη*. Of these, *Δαιδίχη* and *Λαμπρίχα* are *Koseformen* with the common Boeotian ending (see the Boeotian section in *CIG*, and Koumanoudes in *Ἀθήναιον*, IV, 270 *seq.*). *Μοχίνη* is probably a *Koseform* also, with a different ending. The stems of this and *Δαιδίχη* are difficult to make out. A guess at *Δαιδίχη* would be "my dear little torch" or "light." *Λαμπρίχα* is evidently "my dear little shiner" or something of the sort.

Pape makes *Κορητώ* from *κόρη*. This would doubtless also be counted as a *Koseform* (see Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*, p. xxii f.). The *tau* in this formation is perhaps employed after the analogy of so many forms with legitimate *tau*, as *Λεοντώ*, *Πειστώ*, *Χαριστώ*, *Στρατώ*, *Φιλιστώ*, *Μαντώ*, *Θεμιστώ*, *Καλλιστώ*. In *Κλεόμη* we have a *Koseform* made by shortening *Κλεομήδα*.<sup>3</sup> Thus we have here the two methods of making *Koseformen*: (1) by addition of an ending (*ιχα*), as *Johnnie* for *John*; (2) by shortening, as *Will* for *William*.

Striking names and apparently not hackneyed, are: *Ἡνώχα*, "rein-holder," a name of bad omen for a girl, an epithet of Hera at the sanctuary of Trophonius (Paus., IX. 39. 4); *Κοσμία*, "neat;" *Παραμόνα*, "steadfast;" *Σοβαρόν*, perhaps "magnificent," *Χρησίμα*, "useful," *Ζωπύρα*, "spark" (very common in Boeotia). *Ἵνασίμα*, "delightful," and *Εὐτύχα*, "lucky," are just as expressive, but have lost their newness. *Ἡδίστα* and *Φιλίστα* are perhaps not open to this charge. *Ἐλευθερίς* recalls the favorite epithet of Zeus and the festival *Ἐλευθέρια*, at Plataea (Paus., IX. 2. 5 *seq.*).

#### OBJECTS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTION.

The following is an alphabetical list of the offerings : *ἄλυσις*, chain ; *ἄμμάτιον*, cord, cf. *παρθενίας ἄμματα λύμενα* (*Anth. Gr.*, VII. 182) ; *βουκεφαλή*, cow-head or ox-head ; *βωμίσκος*, little altar ; *δαίς*, torch ; *δακτύλιον*, ring ; *ἐνώδιον*, *ἐνώτιον*, *ἐνωτίδιον*, earring ; *ἔρια*, wool ; *ἔρωτίσκος*, little love ; *ζώνη*, girdle, like *ἄμμάτιον* ; *λαμπάς*,

<sup>3</sup> It may be that the full form *Κλεομήδα* was used in line 74.



λαμπάδιον, torch; πίναξ, tablet; στεφάνωμα, crown or wreath; στυλίδιον, little column; τύπος, relief; φιάλη, bowl; τὰ ἐφ' αὐτῆς.

For the explanation of many of these objects, see Homolle in *Bull. de corr. hellén.*, VI (1882) p. 108 seq. There are several here which strike us as unusual; such are: βουκεφαλή, βωμίσκος, δαίς, ἔρια, ἐρωτίσκος, λαμπάς, στυλίδιον. But strangest of all is the offering τὰ ἐφ' αὐτῆς, "things at her command" (cf. *Ar. Plut.*, 100, τὰ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ), what she was wearing at the time, or something of the sort. This Heniocha "did what she could:" while others gave gold rings and silver girdles of their abundance, she, not wishing to be left out, gave of her poverty apparently some articles not specified.

Of the objects mentioned, δαίς, although not occurring until line 32, holds the first place in frequency, being mentioned twenty-nine times, and several of these mentions are of plural offerings. Once, in line 69, five δαῖδες are offered by one woman. Besides this, δαῖδα seems to shimmer throughout the bad parts of the stone where the eye sees something like ΛΛ ΛΛ, and again it would come in just right to fill out a line like 3, where we are dependent upon conjecture for the reading. λαμπάδιον is mentioned ten times, once in the plural. A passage in Dicaearchus (Müller, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, vol. II, p. 259) might lead us to suppose that this was a headband of the women, or a top-knot of the hair itself. Speaking of the Theban women, Dicaearchus says: τὸ δὲ τρίχωμα ξανθόν, ἀναδεδεμένον μέχρι τῆς κορυφῆς· ὃ δὲ καλεῖται ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων λαμπάδιον. But attractive as this supposition might be, arraying λαμπάδιον, as it does, with the other articles of female dress, it is safer to take it to mean the same as λαμπάς, which occurs three times, and to take both in the sense of δαίς<sup>4</sup> with possibly some difference of form indicated by the choice of a different word. These torch-offerings are thus very prominent in this inscription. In the part that is readable, the torch is mentioned about as frequently as all the other objects put together. It is, of course, not surprising to find φιάλη coming next in order of frequency. There is hardly any list of temple-treasures in which the φιάλαι are not the most numerous of all the offerings. Perhaps in most lists φιάλαι are as frequent as all other objects put together. Sixteen hundred φιάλαι are mentioned in the treasure-lists of the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. CLEMENS, *Protr.*, II. 22: αἰδέσθητι, δαδοῦχε, τὰς λαμπάδας.

Delian Apollo.<sup>5</sup> This displacement of the *φιάλη* from the place of honor makes the torch-offering peculiarly prominent.

In the Cabiri inscription published in the *Mittheilungen, Athen*, 1890, p. 378 *seq.*, we have a list of names of men and women together with their offerings, among them the following :

Σκόπας . . . ἄλυσιν  
 Ὀκυθόα . . . μάστιγα, δαΐδα  
 Ἐνώμα δαΐδα ἀργουρίαν, ὀκτὰ δραχμὰ τρεῖς ὀβολοί  
 Ἐρατὼ φιάλιον ἀργούριον.

This is the only inscription which I have been able to find containing *δαΐς* as an offering, though *λύχνος* and *λυχνία* are not infrequent.<sup>6</sup> *CIG*, 1570, which gives an account of old offerings in the temple of Amphiaraus near Oropus, is also an analogous list, though of the articles on our list it names only the inevitable *φιάλη*, and this a good many times.

The lists of temple-treasures published in the *Corymbus* and the archaeological periodicals naturally contain many of the objects here mentioned. Omitting *φιάλη*, as found nearly everywhere, the Parthenon lists (*CIA*, II, 642 *seq.*) contain : ἄλυσιν, δακτύλιος, ἐνώδιον, ἔρια, πίναξ, στέφανος ; and for *βουκεφαλή* we have *κρίον κεφαλή* and *λέοντος κεφαλή*. The lists of Artemis Brauronia (*CIA*, II, 751 *seq.*) contain, besides the old clothes : ἄλυσιν, δακτύλιος, ἐνώδιον, ἔρια, στέφανος, τύπος. The Asklepieion lists (*CIA*, II, 766 *seq.*) contain : δακτύλιος, πίναξ, στέφανος, τύπος ; also objects bound with a golden ἄλυσιν, and objects ἐν ὄρι πρὸς πίνακι. The lists of the Delian Apollo (*Bull. de corr. hellén.*, 1882, pp. 1-167) contain : δακτύλιος, ἐνώτιον, λαμπάς, στέφανος and στεφάνωμα, τύπος. Analogous to *δαΐς* is, perhaps, *πέυκη κληματίς*. Here appear also objects with ἄλυσιν, also *βουκεφάλια* and *αἰετοῦ κεφαλή*. The Eleusis lists (*Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1888, p. 42 *seq.*) contain : δακτύλιος, ἐνώδιον, στέφανος. *CIA*, II, *Nachtrag* 682<sup>c</sup> has πίναξ, and also *λαμπαδεῖον*. The silver-inventory of Amphiaraus (*Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχ.*, 1889, p. 1 *seq.*) has, besides *φιάλη*, *βωμίσκος* several times, as well as *φύλλα τοῦ στεφάνου*, and objects with figures of Ἐρως on them.

<sup>5</sup> HOMOLLE, *Bull. de corr. hellén.*, 1882, p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *CIG*, 2852 ; LE BAS, *Voyage Archéologique*, III, No. 245 (Smyrna inscription), τὰς λυχνίας σὺν τοῖς λύχνοις. *λαμπαδεῖον* occurs (*CIA*, II, *Nachtrag* 682<sup>c</sup>) in an offering to Demeter. Cf., also, *Bull. de corr. hellén.*, 1882, p. 135.

Presumably the objects mentioned in the Plataean inscription were mostly of gold and silver. The reason why the material is several times mentioned is, probably, that the object might otherwise have been understood to be of some other material; *e. g.*, ἀμμάτιον (line 1) might have been supposed to be a cord of ordinary fibre, albeit rich, had it not been stated that it was of gold. So of ζώνη in line 66. The dedicator would not have wished the little column of line 72 to pass for a column of mere marble. δακτύλιον (71) and ἐνωτίδιον (15) are said to be of gold, thus leading to the suspicion that the other rings and earrings were of silver.

#### TO WHAT DIVINITY WERE THESE OFFERINGS MADE ?

It is of course not surprising that the name of the divinity should be omitted. The stone was set up in the consecrated precinct, so that there could be no mistake on that point. There was at that time no thought of the perplexity of the future archæologist who should find the stone amid new surroundings with no means of determining its provenience.<sup>7</sup> There are, however, certain materials for a probable solution of the problem, though they hardly afford a complete demonstration. The fact that the dedicators are all women points to some female divinity. Among the offerings there are at least two<sup>8</sup> which are out of the common run of offerings such as appear in most temple-inventories, and which, while they demand an explanation why they were offered, afford at the same time the materials for an answer to our question. The first is βουκεφαλή, which is mentioned twice. The cow-heads found by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenae may be taken, as understood by him, to be an offering to Hera, as patron goddess of the city.<sup>9</sup> This is a very natural offering to the ancient moon-goddess, but the difficulty, with the supposition of Hera, is to account for the torch. This also might be thought to be a not unnatural offering to the goddess who presided over marriage. On the Io vase in the Berlin Museum, the image of Hera is represented as holding in

<sup>7</sup> Most of the offerings at Delos are without the name of Apollo. The Athenians had no need to state that their stoa at Delphi was dedicated to Apollo.

<sup>8</sup> ἔρωτίσκος, βομίσκος, and στυλίδιον, not to mention some other objects, are also peculiar; but they occur only once.

<sup>9</sup> SCHLIEMANN, *Mycenae*, p. 218. Cuts are also given on pp. 216-18 of the splendid silver cow-head with gold horns, and of the smaller ones of thin gold plate with axes between the horns. The large head in question seems certainly more like a bull-head.

one hand a torch and in the other a bow.<sup>10</sup> But it must be confessed that neither in literature nor in the extant monuments of art do torches appear as a characteristic attribute of Hera, and there is very little reason to suppose that any such offering was ever made to her. Probably we should then give up the idea of associating this stone with the temple of Hera which is prominently mentioned by Herodotus in his account of the battle of Plataea.<sup>11</sup>

There are, however, of the greater goddesses two who are always thought of as the torch-bearing divinities, Demeter<sup>12</sup> and Artemis. This is not the place to multiply proofs on that point, but merely to consider which of these two might be the one to whom this particular offering of torches was made. We have seen that the torch is here the distinguishing object, *δαῖς* and *λαμπάδιον*, having the place of honor occupied in the Asklepieion lists by *ὀφίδιον* and *δρακόντιον*. To one or the other of these two goddesses, then, it is natural to refer the offering. It is true that we do not find elsewhere explicit mention of the offering of a *δαῖς* to either of them, but only to the Cabiri. We feel that this is simply surprising, and, if we had the slightest indication that elsewhere to either of these goddesses both a torch and a *βουκεφαλῆ* were offered, we should think it almost a demonstration that that goddess was the one here honored.

Now both these goddesses had sanctuaries in Plataea. That of Demeter is mentioned by Herodotus (ix. 65), Plutarch (*Arist.*, xi) and Pausanias (ix. 4. 2). It was outside the wall, and the battle with the Persians raged around it. Plutarch alone (*Arist.*, xx) mentions the sanctuary of Artemis. After telling the story of the swift messenger to Delphi, who died at the end of his journey and was buried in the precinct of Artemis Euclea, he adds: "Most people call Euclea Artemis, and regard her as such; but some say that she was the daughter of Heracles and Myrto, the daughter of Menoetius and sister of Patroclus, and that having died a virgin she has honors among the Boeotians and Locrians. For there is an altar and an

<sup>10</sup> OVERBECK, *Kunstmythologie*, pl. vii. These objects, not being usual attributes of Hera, may be explained as given her in her capacity of Ilithyia. See PRELLER, *Gr. Myth.*, 4th edit., p. 172, note.

<sup>11</sup> ix. 52, 61. More recent excavations conducted by Mr. Washington have laid bare the foundations of a building which may prove to be the Heraeum. See pp. 50 ff.

<sup>12</sup> If Persephone, whose attribute is a torch, was worshipped at Plataea, it would naturally be in subordination to Demeter.

image of her established in every agora, and brides and bridegrooms sacrifice to her before marriage.”

The torch would then here be a natural offering to Artemis, even if we found no mention of it in connection with her. But, as in the case of Hera the torch was the difficulty, so in the case of Artemis it is the *βουκεφαλή*; though, even on this score, she is not to be summarily ruled out. Her epithet *ταυροπόλος* is at least suggestive. The story of Iphigenia bringing her image from the Tauri is perhaps a Euripidean form of a myth connecting Artemis with some forgotten bull-cult. Diodorus (xviii. 4) and Livy (xliv. 44) speak of the worship of Artemis *ταυροπόλος* at Amphipolis; and, what is highly interesting, coins of Amphipolis show a female figure riding on a bull.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps it is more than an accident that a vase of the Phaleric type in the Polytechnikon at Athens (No. 5839) has, by the side of a so-called Persian Artemis, a *βουκεφαλή* filling a little space which according to the artist's taste ought not to be left empty.

But, after all, these attempts to connect Artemis with the *βουκεφαλή* seem a little forced. Further light may come; but, in the meantime, the way seems cleared for the claims of Demeter. One's first thought, in connection with such a profusion of torches, is of Demeter, and in her case we find the slight indication which we seek, which makes us willing to believe that it was she rather than Artemis to whom these offerings were made. In the chapel of St. Zachariah at Eleusis are two gigantic torches, probably set up at Eleusis in honor of the goddess. We may say then that, if we have not found the name for which we were searching, we have at least found the thing. Furthermore, Karl Bötticher<sup>14</sup> identifies two reliefs, one found at Athens and the other at Eleusis, with the cornices of the altars of Demeter, one in the Eleusinium at Athens and the other at Eleusis. Both these reliefs contain the torch and the *βουκεφαλή* combined. This is the slight hint that we have been seeking. Here is a connection of the two distinctive objects of our list.<sup>15</sup> If these reliefs are of Roman times they

<sup>13</sup>STEPHANI, *Compte rendu*, 1866, p. 102 *seq.*, gives a list of such coins for Amphipolis and adjacent parts of Macedonia, as well as some other places. He thinks that, wherever we have a woman riding upon a bull with no water indicated, we have not Europa but Artemis *ταυροπόλος*, who is one form of the Phoenician Astarte.

<sup>14</sup>*Philologus*, vol. xxii, p. 385 *seq.*; vol. xxiv, p. 227 *seq.* The Athenian relief is now built into the old small metropolis church, adjacent to the new cathedral.

<sup>15</sup>This suggestion falls short of a demonstration, because this relief is not an offering. The ox-head is a not unusual architectural ornament, and it may be that only

are not, for that reason, too late to be put in evidence. Eleusis was a home of conservatism. The old customs were maintained under the Roman sway.

#### DATE OF THE INSCRIPTION.

The inscription can hardly be earlier than 200 B. C., judging from numerous signs: (1) The dialect is an approach to the *κοινή* in some of the names, *e. g.*, *Δημητρία* and *Πολυκάστη*. (2) The forms of the letters have nothing antique about them. The use of apices cannot go much, if at all, back of 200 B. C. The *alpha* with the broken horizontal bar also cannot precede this date.<sup>16</sup> (3) The custom of dividing by syllables at the end of a line is a late one, not introduced at Athens until about 200 B. C., as may be seen by a glance at the *Corpus*. (4) The trace of iotacism in *Τειμοκράτεια* argues, though it does not prove,<sup>17</sup> about the same date-limit.

The next thing is to get an approximate date below which the inscription cannot well be put. This is a matter in which it is more difficult to speak positively. But the following considerations may be adduced: (1) The names nearly all retain the Boeotian form in the endings. *Δαμώ*, *Δαμοδίκη*, *Ἵονασίμα*, *Ἰαγησίς*, retain the *alpha* in the body of the word. This could not have been the case after 100 B. C., when the *κοινή* had extended, with its levelling influences, to every place in the Greek world. (2) A comparison of the forms of the letters with those of Athenian inscriptions would seem to put this inscription in the first half of the second century B. C.<sup>18</sup>

It is doubtful whether the close relations that existed between Athens and Plataea before the Peloponnesian War survived the nu-

the torch is significant. Even the torch on the Eleusis relief looks doubtful. Bötticher regards the objects in question as unlighted torches bound with myrtle leaves. He calls attention to the almost complete similarity of the two reliefs in their general arrangement, and argues from the certainty that the Athenian relief shows torches to the conclusion that the objects on the Eleusis relief must be torches also. The Eleusis relief has the better example of a *βοσκεφαλή*.

<sup>16</sup> But for one of the alphas in the heading, one might hardly notice that the broken-barred *alpha* is really present. The letters in the rest of the inscription are so diminutive as hardly to make the break perceptible. Still when one's attention is called to the matter one sees that the middle of the bar is in nearly every case lower than the ends.

<sup>17</sup> MEISTERHANS, *Gram. der attisch. Inscr.*, p. 38.

<sup>18</sup> It seems to be considerably older than *CIA*, II, 455, 460, which fall probably in the second half of the second century, and somewhat older than No. 454, which falls at about the middle of that century.

merous destructions of Plataea and the centralizing influence of the Boeotian League. The Plataea that followed the battle of Chaeronea was largely a Macedonian creation. Yet the loss of a special tie between the two cities was more than made good by the general influence of Athens, which was no longer hemmed in by the borders of small adjacent states. The influence of Athenian custom was at this time probably strong enough to make Boeotian writing, as well as Boeotian spelling, a pretty good mirror of the Attic.

Of single letters, besides the *alpha* already mentioned, the most distinctive are I (ζ), Θ, Κ, ο, Π, Ω<sup>19</sup> Any one of these peculiar forms, *i. e.*, the rectangular *zeta*, the small *theta*, *omicron*, and *omega*, the *kappa* with short oblique lines, and *pi* with shorter right-hand limb, might continue into the first century B. C. But it is doubtful whether all of them combined could come down far into the second century. Our judgment as to date must always be guided more by the total impression than by isolated peculiarities.

There are certain contrarities in our inscription which are worth noting in their entirety, because, if we noted only one class of phenomena to the exclusion of others, we might be misled as to the age: (1) Δαμώ has an ancient look, but Δημητρία looks quite the reverse. (2) Θεοζότα must be old, one would think; for Boeotia cannot have retained the *zeta* for *delta*, which it had in common with Elis (Meister, *Gr. Dial.*, p. 264), after the pressing in of the *κοινή*. But we have also Θεοδότα. (3) Ἀγγελίς seems old if we look at the *alpha*, but for η we should in Boeotian of any early date have εἰ.<sup>20</sup> (4) α final and η final balance each other. (5) The form of the letters Α, Μ, Σ, point to a late date, but the small ο and Θ with Κ and Ι cause one to hesitate. There is also the antique-looking γιτα in Εὐγίτα and Θεογίτα,<sup>21</sup> against which we have nothing in particular to set as an antithesis.

All these indications, when properly balanced, seem to put our inscription in the time when Greece, under the influence of Macedonian military and political preponderance and of Athenian literary traditions, was losing its provincialism, and when local peculiarities of dialect were being crowded into nooks and corners. A good analogy to this inscrip-

<sup>19</sup> Ψ is the only letter which does not occur.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Ἀγγελίς in the Thespian inscription published by JOHANNES SCHMIDT, in *Mith. Athen*, v, p. 130; Ἀγγελισπιππος, KEIL, *Zur Syll. Inscrip. Boeot.*, in *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 4<sup>te</sup> Supp. Band., p. 521.

<sup>21</sup> БОЕЦКН, *CIG*, vol. I, p. 723.

tion is afforded by the Silver-Inventory of Oropus, published in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1889, p. 1 *seq.*, which B. Keil (in *Hermes*, 1890, p. 608) does not hesitate, in spite of iotacisms like *ει* for *ι*, to put at about 200 B. C. In its iotacism and its vacillation between *a* and *η*, our inscription is very much like the Nikareta inscription found at Orchomenus,<sup>22</sup> which has *Νικαρέτα* and *Νικαρέτη* indiscriminately. In the matter of form, too, if we removed the apices from our inscription, we should have a remarkable resemblance in the letters to the Nikareta inscription, which is dated by Foucart 220–192 B. C., and by Meister 223–197 B. C.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

<sup>22</sup> Published by FOU CART, *Bull. de corr. hellén.*, III, p. 459 *seq.*, IV, p. 1 *seq.* Cf. MEISTER in COLLITZ, *Sammlung der griech. Dialekt-Inschriften*.



## EXCAVATIONS AT PLATAEA IN 1891.

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### DISCOVERY OF A TEMPLE OF ARCHAIC PLAN.

[PLATES II (PLAN), III.]

In presenting Mr. Washington's report for publication, I wish to state that with the work of this third season our excavations on the site of Plataea will be suspended for the present. It is a matter of considerable gratification, that, owing to the intelligent enthusiasm and perseverance of Mr. Washington, we have now discovered one interesting and important edifice of the ancient city, of which so few vestiges remain, and are able to identify this with approximate certainty as the Heraeum.

Mr. F. C. Penrose has read Mr. Washington's paper in the manuscript, and has made some valuable suggestions.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

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Work was begun, on April 20, 1891, with sixteen men, at a point in the plain about 500 metres north of the plateau, and on the west side of the Thebes-Alopétrypi road, where lie some cut and squared stones. Part of a day was spent here with no great result, the roughly cut blocks of coarse, gray marble having seemingly formed a platform or base, but being now too much scattered to determine the dimensions. Water was met with 0.80 m. down, and the digging was shifted to a square platform, made of cut blocks of the same stone as the preceding. This lies at a distance of 300 m. N. N. E. of the ruined building marked "*Ruin*," north of *W* on the map of Plataea drawn by the School last year.<sup>1</sup> A day was spent in digging round it, resulting in the discovery of a clay lamp and two or three coarse unglazed red vases of Byzantine period, as well as two shallow graves, apparently also Byzantine. These were floored with large square tiles, but,

<sup>1</sup> *Papers of School at Athens*, vol. v, p. 56.

unlike most Byzantine graves, had no side or top stones, the body (one in each grave) having been simply laid in a shallow hole with a tiled bottom.

The dimensions of the platform, which is square and oriented exactly north and south, are as follows: diameter, each way, 3.80 m., height 1.45 m.; it is composed of three courses of squared blocks, nine in each, every block measuring 1.25 m. square and 0.45 m. deep, the lowest course projecting a couple of centimetres all around. The blocks are fairly shaped, but roughly finished, laid together without clamps or mortar, the whole being evidently a foundation for some monument. At a distance of 8 m. to both north and south a rough wall of smaller squared stones was found, running east and west. Trenches were sunk inside the supposed enclosure, but with no result, except the finding of the graves and pottery above mentioned, all of which are of a later date than the two outer walls or the platform. The ground was very heavy, as is usually the case at this season in the plain, and, the water-sheet having been reached at a depth of less than 1.50 m., the work here was discontinued. Small diggings were also made at two or three other points to the north, uncovering some blocks, apparently parts of a similar base, but very much broken up. A plain sarcophagus-lid of gray marble was found a short distance to the north of the large base, and another lies on the slope of the plateau, below the point *W* (see map of last year's report) of the wall, while in the field north of the "*Ruin*" there lies a square stone with a slot cut to receive a stele.

As will be seen on referring to the map of Plataea,<sup>2</sup> there is between *V* and *W* a long stretch without remains of walls; and in this a small rivulet runs down to the north at the bottom of the shallow valley. The road, marked *Alopétrypi Road*, branches a short distance to the north of the excavations, the easterly branch going to the small hamlet of Alopétrypi, while the westerly branch keeps on to the north and joins the main road from Kokla to Thebes a few miles further on.

These three facts: the presence of a line of bases, apparently of funereal monuments, together with sarcophagus-covers, the existence of a road to Thebes at the present day along them, and the shallow valley toward which the line of bases runs, with a gentle slope, giving easy access to the plateau, point to this line as that of the ancient

<sup>2</sup> *Papers of School at Athens, loc. cit.* The rivulet has unfortunately been omitted.

road to Thebes, along which the 212 Plataeans proceeded on their escape from the city during the siege.<sup>3</sup>

Half a day was spent in sinking two long trenches, running north and south, on the summit of the ridges between the two brooks, inside the north wall, east of the point *W*. Virgin soil was struck at a depth of one metre, but no ancient remains were found, with the exception of a few fragments of Roman glass. Work was begun next day at *Church I*, three long trenches being dug to the south and east of it. Large quantities of broken pottery and tile-fragments were met with, but nothing of importance; and, after a whole day had been spent in sinking the trenches to a depth of two metres, the spot was abandoned.

On April 23, work was begun on the small terrace to the south of the so-called *Votive Cuttings*.<sup>4</sup> A PLAN of this small terrace is here given, the trenches and excavated portions being shaded with dots. This terrace, about 30–40 metres broad and from 1.50 to 2 m. above the fields, runs like a shelf from a little to the west of the excavated site to the vicinity of the east wall; it is bounded on the south by the very rocky, and slightly higher and rising ground of the plateau proper, where the underlying rock occasionally protrudes through the soil. Along the edge of this I found hewn wall-blocks, some fallen below the terrace and others almost *in situ*. The wall which they formed belonged apparently to what was called in last year's Report the second period of Plataean walls.

A few words may be useful to describe the position of this wall, which, unfortunately, cannot be added to the PLAN. The first blocks occur a little to the east of the votive sockets, and from that point on they are found at intervals on the edge or on the slope of the terrace, running a little south of east. A line of blocks, fallen over but still maintaining their relative positions, runs in a curve around the upper edge of the small hollow, the supposed theatre site,<sup>5</sup> then, a few paces further east, crosses the Kriekouki road, and finally is lost among the rocks. From the round tower at *E'*<sup>4</sup> traces of a wall run a short distance to the west, presumably part of the wall just described.

<sup>3</sup> THUCYDIDES, III. 24.

<sup>4</sup> See MAP, *loc. cit.* There are sockets or slots cut in the rock at the edge of the terrace, as shown in the accompanying PLAN. They are seven in number, and measure on an average  $0.30 \times 0.10$  m., and 0.05 to 0.10 m. deep.

<sup>5</sup> A well built wall was found below this hollow, to the north, running east and west, and may be one of the foundation-walls of the *skene*.

Two trenches, *g* and *h* (PLAN), were sunk running north and south across the terrace, and, after half an hour of work a wall of poros stone (*K* in *Temple Plan restored*) was laid bare in each of them, a few centimetres below the surface. PLATE III. 1 gives wall *K* looking east, and shows the longitudinally arranged blocks, and one block of the course placed transversely. Half a dozen men who were at work near the north edge of the plateau (a little to the east of *Church II* in the MAP published last year), where one of my workmen said that, some years before, he had seen some "yellow columns,"<sup>6</sup> were summoned to the task of following out the walls we had just discovered, and of sinking additional trenches. In this work about four days were spent. As is shown on the PLAN, the interior and cross-walls were laid bare over their whole extent, the outer wall being cut by trenches at intervals and thoroughly cleared at the corners.

To describe the excavations we will begin at the west and leave the main building till the last. Two long trenches (*a* and *c*) were sunk east and west, and another (*b*) between them, running north. In the trenches *b* and *a*, the rock surface was met with 0.20–0.40 m. down, and nothing was found except a few pieces of squared poros. In trench *c*, a kind of shelf was uncovered, running almost exactly east and west, in a line with the wall *K* of the main building, and distant from it 8 metres. It is 13.50 m. long, about 1 m. wide, and 0.35 m. high, cut very roughly out of the rock, ending indeterminately in the rock at either end as well as on the southern side, and finished off on top with coarse red tiles. Its purpose is unknown; but, judging from the tiles, it must be, at the earliest, of Roman date.

At the northwest corner of the main building, a small wall (*N*) was uncovered. It forms a right angle, and as shown in the PLAN is not oriented like the other walls. The eastern arm measures  $6.60 \times 0.80$  m., and the southern  $5.60 \times 1.40$  m. (exterior). Only three blocks of the original structure were found *in situ*, at the east end, where they have a total length of 0.90 m., and are 0.60 m. wide and 0.35 m. high. The rest of the original wall is easily traced by the flat, shallow groove cut in the native rock for the reception of the wall-blocks. Two

<sup>6</sup> Part of a Roman unfluted column, of white marble, was found half exposed. I unfortunately neglected to measure it, but judge that its diameter is about 0.40 m., and its remaining length 1.70 m. Some Roman building will probably be found at or near this point. Part of a similar column lies south of *Church III*.

or three other blocks were found at the east end of this wall, perhaps *in situ* and intended as bases, but not connected with *N*. A similar, though smaller wall (*O*) was found at the southwest angle, the blocks composing the lowest course being still *in situ*. The northern arm measures 4 m.  $\times$  0.70 m., while the western arm is only 1.43  $\times$  0.90 m. (exterior). Both these walls may be the foundations for some superstructure, such as inscribed slabs or steles.

Trenches, *d, f*, were sunk to the north of the large building, but with no result, the rock lying very close to the surface and occasionally cropping out. The original trenches, *g, h*, were also carried down to bed-rock, but nothing was found in them outside the wall *L*. The trenches *i, k*, to the east, also proved of very slight importance, the only thing found in them being a water-conduit in *i*, made of L-shaped terracotta drain-tiles, 0.58 m. long, 0.22 m. wide, and 0.19 m. high, joined apparently without cement. They are of exactly the same shape and dimensions as the drain-tiles discovered last year at *Church V*. The drain was laid on the surface of the rock, had no cover and was in a much broken condition when found. The total length uncovered was 6 metres; *i. e.*, 10 tiles. It ran down due north, then bent about  $10^\circ$  to the east, but was not followed up when it passed out of the straight trench.

The inner walls of the large building were all laid bare, so as to determine the plan with certainty, and the trenches were, in almost all cases, both here and in the other excavations, carried to bed-rock. Apart from the main walls, very little of interest was found, though quite a number of small objects were brought to light. Numerous fragments of bronze were met with, chiefly inside the building toward the west, and also near the southwest corner, just outside the wall *L*. This bronze was in the shape of roughly made rings, long helices of wire (the diameter of the wire being 0.005–0.001 m.), a few simple fibulae, and parts of two bowls; one consisted merely of a few fragments, while the other was almost entire, but was very much corroded and had been badly flattened out of shape. It was of very thin sheet-metal (about 0.002 m. thick) and ornamented in *repoussé* with narrow flutings radiating from a circle at the bottom up the sides. When perfect it may have been 0.15 m. in diameter and 0.06 m. deep. At various depths were found the following terracottas: a small figure of a seated woman, a veil over her head, but the features almost indistinguishable (0.10 m. high), of very simple workmanship, similar to

many found on the Acropolis and elsewhere ; parts of two horses (?) of archaic type (like those found at Tiryns and Mycenae), one fragment showing traces of painting ; and over thirty lenticular clay spinning-whorls, 0.05 m. across. The figurine was found near the N. E. angle, the horse fragments, one near the S. W., the other near the N. E. angle, and the whorls along the wall *C*. A few beads, fragments of glass, a small copper coin of Licinius (307 A. D.), and a piece apparently of a human jaw-bone, were also met with, the last at a depth of over a metre at the N. E. angle. Inside the building and along the outside of the wall *H*, we came upon a layer of blackened earth, a few centimetres thick, and lying on the rock. Fragments of coarse, red, unglazed pottery were met with in this layer, but no bronze.

All the remaining walls, with the exception of the blocks composing *N* and *O* (which are of a coarse gray conglomerate marble), are built of smoothly cut blocks of poros<sup>7</sup> stone. This is a very soft, nearly white, friable, finely grained limestone, apparently deposited from water, and resembling some of the Roman travertine. Though almost chalky and readily scratched with the finger-nail on a fresh surface, it hardens very decidedly on exposure to the air, darkening considerably and becoming a dirty yellow.<sup>8</sup>

The main axis of the building lies E. 10° S. (magnetic) ; its total exterior length is 49.90 m. ; its exterior width, 16.70 m.

The outer wall, *AHGL*, 2.55 m. wide, is built of smoothly cut blocks, 2.55 m. long, 1.20 m. wide, and 0.40 m. high, laid without clamps or mortar, and fitted so closely that on the upper surface it is difficult to distinguish the joints. The lowest course rests on the bed-rock, a very shallow, flat trench having been cut for its reception. The greatest

<sup>7</sup> There is great lack of definiteness in the use of the word *poros*, which is made to include almost all soft, light-colored stones, not palpably marble or hard limestone. In the majority of cases it is a sort of travertine, again a shell-conglomerate, and occasionally a sandstone or some decomposed rock, containing serpentine or other hydrated minerals. Mr. ERNEST GARDNER, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1890 (p. 263 note), speaks of this indefiniteness. Some proper understanding should be arrived at on the subject, and the different kinds better discriminated, as in some cases the differences are important. Cf. NEUMANN and PAETSCH, *Phys. Geog. Griech.*, p. 261 and note 1 ; LEPSIUS, *Griech. Marmorstudien*, p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> Chemical tests showed the presence of small quantities of iron, which gives the color, and also some alumina and magnesia, but it is nearly pure calcium carbonate, in the form of aragonite. This poros probably comes from a ridge, which runs down to the north from Mt. Cithaeron, about 1½ mile east of the plateau, and on which stands the chapel of Synalipsi (*sic*).

number of courses *in situ* at any point is four, at the N. E. angle, where bed-rock was struck at a depth of 1.65 m.; while of the south wall, *L*, only two courses are left, and of the north, *H*, only one. Of the east wall, *A*, there remains only a length of 7.30 m. At the southeast corner, an L-shaped block of gray marble,<sup>9</sup> *P*, was found *in situ*, resting on the poros foundation. It measures  $2.75 \times 2.70$  m. and is 0.36 m. thick. The two outer faces are cut with a slight step, while the four inner ones are smoothed at the upper edge, and cut in rather deeply and roughly below. On the top, which is quite smooth, at three of the four inside edges are six T-shaped holes for T-clamps, in pairs. They are 0.16 m. long (the crossbar 0.07 m.), 0.015 m. wide, and 0.05 m. deep. The outer faces of this block are flush with the poros wall below it. At the northwest corner was found, not *in situ*, a block of an upper course of the crepidoma, showing the face of one of the steps; the block is of gray marble, 0.50 m. long, 0.40 m. wide, and 0.32 m. high, broken in all three directions, so that these figures merely approximate the original size. The bottom is quite smooth, and the outer face shows the three bands, so common at the bottom of the vertical face of the steps of a crepidoma. These bands measure respectively, .035 m., .038 m. and .052 m., beginning from the bottom, and each is at back .004 m. from the one above it. The platform *M*, at the west end, measuring  $11.30 \times 2.25$  m., is constructed of poros blocks similar to those of the outer foundation-wall, and is apparently of the same period. It is much shattered at the edges, and it is difficult to determine its former extent.

The inner walls, *B*, *C*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *K*, *I*, are all 1.25 m. wide, except *C*, which is 1.30 m. They are built of blocks 1.25 m. long, 0.55–0.65 m. wide, and 0.40 m. high, these blocks being in alternate courses laid longitudinally and transversely (headers and stretchers), closely fitted without clamps or mortar. On the inner end of one of the transverse blocks of the wall *K*, is cut a mason's mark,  $\perp$ , at the upper edge of the stone. The blocks shown at *n*, as found in chamber *R*, are of poros stone and from inner walls, but not *in situ*. All the space between the walls is filled with earth containing some stones. The dimensions of the various divisions are given in the PLAN, and

<sup>9</sup>This marble, the material of the blocks at *N* and *O*, and very generally used at Plataea, was quarried from the slopes of Mt. Cithaeron, or perhaps on the plateau itself, though no signs of a quarry have been found. It is of a dark-gray color, sub-crystalline, rather coarse-grained, and generally of a conglomerate structure.

so need not be set forth here.<sup>10</sup> A small fragment of a Doric column of poros, about 0.275 m. in diameter, was found on the surface.

All the remains found have now been described, and we have to reconstruct the temple as far as possible, and to determine its age and the divinity to whom it was dedicated.<sup>11</sup> We are greatly hampered by the fact that, with the exception of two fragments of the crepidoma, only foundation-walls are left, not a piece of marble or any part of the upper structure having been found near the spot.

The ground-plan shows that we have to deal with a peripteral

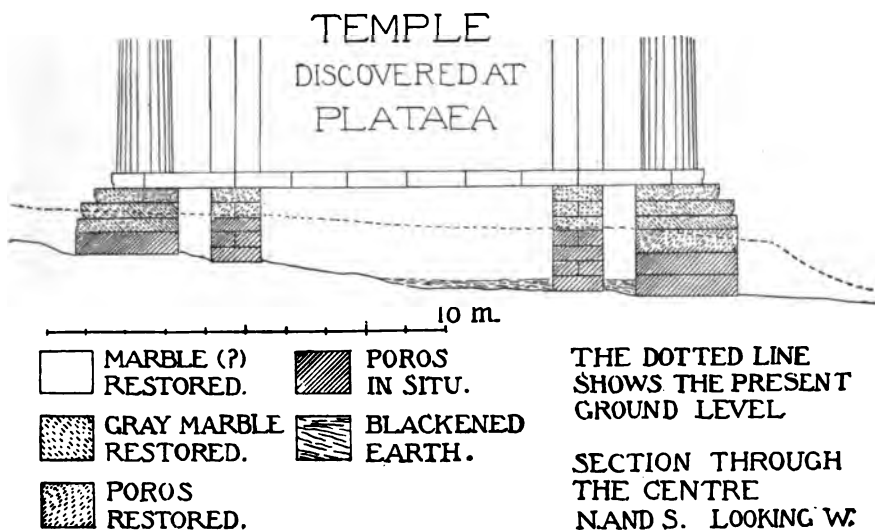


FIGURE 1.

temple, presumably, indeed certainly, Doric. The stereobate<sup>12</sup> is readily restored from similar buildings, and may safely be set down as having had three courses of steps, resting on a lower course of gray marble, of which the block *P* is the only extant fragment. The setback of the first step from the edge of the bottom course may be esti-

<sup>10</sup> Fragments of roofing-tiles are scattered over the terrace. They are of baked clay, covered with a dull yellowish-gray glaze and of a  $\Lambda$  shape, the angle very obtuse. A small square projection for fastening is seen on some pieces, but not enough is left of any one to give the dimensions.

<sup>11</sup> The writer wishes to record his thanks to Dr. WILHELM DÖRPFELD and Professor FRANK B. TARBELL for their valuable suggestions and assistance.

<sup>12</sup> See section, *Figure 1*.



mated at 0.10 m., and that of the two upper steps from those below at 0.40 m., giving a top surface to the stylobate of 1.65 m. Allowing 0.15 m. on each side, we get a column-diameter of 1.35 m. (about the size of the columns of the Heraeum at Olympia). This gives us a distance of 13.30 m. from centre to centre of the angle-columns on the ends, and 46.50 m. on the flanks. Eight columns at the end would give an average intercolumniation of 1.85 m., which is much too narrow, as it would leave only 0.20 m. between the columns; so we may be assured that the temple was hexastyle, with an average intercolumniation on the fronts of 2.66 m. Placing the two angle-columns nearer to their neighbors than the others by 0.25–0.30 m., the usual difference in early Doric buildings, we get the intercolumniation of 2.70 m. for the inner, and 2.43 m. for the outer columns.

The number of columns on the sides cannot be determined with the same certainty. Dörpfeld has pointed out<sup>13</sup> that in early Doric temples the intercolumniation of the sides is less than that of the fronts, citing the Heraeum at Olympia, the old Athena temple on the Athenian acropolis, and the temple at Corinth. The least number of columns on the sides corresponding to this law is 19, with an intercolumniation of 2.58 m. But, as far as the writer has examined the subject, no temple with 19 columns is known with certainty, and hence it has seemed better to restore the present temple as having 18 columns on the flanks, with an intercolumniation of 2.74 m., only slightly greater than that of the ends. Our restoration is consequently drawn in accordance with this view, though 19 may have been the correct number. Durm<sup>14</sup> mentions only one temple, the Artemisium at Syracuse, as having 18 columns, and that instance does not appear to be free from doubt.<sup>15</sup>


The two columns *in antis* have a diameter of about one metre. The plan of the cella is an unusual one, there being three cross-walls, *C*, *D*, *E*, which form, beside the pronaos, naos, and opisthodomos, an additional small chamber, *S*. It cannot now be made out from the remains in which direction this room opened; that is, whether the door was in the wall *E*, or in *D*, since of course no traces of the doorway exist on the foundation-walls remaining. It seems probable, however, that the door was in the wall *E*, as indicated in the PLAN,

<sup>13</sup> *Mith. Athen*, 1886, p. 303.

<sup>14</sup> *Baukunst der Griechen*, p. 76.




<sup>15</sup> [The "Basilica" (probably Temple of Demeter and Persephone) at Paestum has 18 columns on the flanks.—T. W. L.]

the chamber *S* thus opening upon the opisthodomos, as at Corinth<sup>16</sup> and in the Parthenon, and probably being used as the treasury of the temple. It is hardly large enough to have been a separate sanctuary, as at Corinth. Both pronaos and opisthodomos are unusually deep relatively to the width, the pronaos being the deeper by 1.10 m. All the superstructure, as well as the stylobate, may have been built of marble, which would account for the complete absence of any parts of it, owing to the destruction by the Byzantines and Turks of this material in making lime. The small column mentioned above does not fit in anywhere, and undoubtedly belongs to some other building. The occurrence of the "votive sockets," the walls *N* and *O*, and the platform *M*, which was probably the basis of an inclined plane or flight of steps leading to the temple at the west end, and the total absence of such remains at the east, are all features of interest.<sup>17</sup>

The date of the temple whose remains are before us can be taken as of the fifth, or perhaps the sixth century B. C., on the evidence both of the -clamps,<sup>18</sup> seen in block *P*, and of the style and workmanship of the masonry.<sup>19</sup> The column-ratio of 6:18, as well as the arrangement of the cella, point to an early date.<sup>20</sup> It is possible that the plan and foundation-walls are of an early date, say the sixth century, while the superstructure was later, of the fifth or even the fourth century. The layer of blackened earth which has been described points to some building which once stood on the site and was destroyed by fire. I will endeavor to show later that the superstructure, at least, dates from 427 B. C.

<sup>16</sup> *Mith. Athen*, xi, p. 297.

<sup>17</sup> [The inclined plane may possibly have been used for processions arriving from the town (which would then lie mainly to the west or southwest of the temple) in order to ascend at the west end, divide into two bodies, and pass through the colonnade on either side to the east entrance.—C. W.]

<sup>18</sup> -clamps were used, it is true, in the Choragic monument of Nicias at Athens (320-19 B. C.), while contemporaneous buildings at Olympia show the  form (DÖRPFELD in *Mith. Athen*, 1885, p. 227). The  shape, however, was in general use throughout the fifth century, and is characteristic of the work of the best period.

<sup>19</sup> Dr. DÖRPFELD, judging from my description, notes, and drawings, expresses the opinion that the outer walls were of the sixth or fifth century B. C., and that the inner walls might be as late as the fourth century, but were probably earlier.

<sup>20</sup> *Cf.* Temple *C* at Selinus (6:17) about 600 B. C., and the Heraeum at Olympia (6:16). [The newer temple at Locri (6:17 columns), also with very deep pronaos and opisthodomos, is probably not older than the middle of the fifth century.—T. W. L.]

Now for the identification of our temple, and of the divinity to whom it was dedicated. Fortunately our range of selection is very narrow, only four temples, these of Hera, Athena Area, Eleusinian Demeter, and Artemis Euclea, being mentioned by the ancient writers as existing at Plataea. Pausanias (IX. 2) mentions an altar to Zeus Eleutherius, but there seems to have been no temple to him. He also speaks of a heroum to the nymph Plataea (*loc. cit.*), apparently a small chapel, as he does not describe it. Herodotus,<sup>21</sup> Thucydides<sup>22</sup> and Plutarch<sup>23</sup> mention a heroum of Androcrates; but this lay near the fountain Gargaphia, in the plain, twenty stades from the city. The temple of the Eleusinian Demeter<sup>24</sup> also lay at a distance from the city, on the mountain-slope near a spot called Argiopiis; and so our choice lies between Hera, Athena, and Artemis. The temple of Artemis is mentioned only once, by Plutarch,<sup>25</sup> and, as Pausanias does not speak of it, it may be safely assumed that it was small or of little importance. Of the temple to Athena, we learn from Pausanias<sup>26</sup> and Plutarch<sup>27</sup> that it was erected at a cost of eighty talents out of the Plataeans' share of the booty from the battle in 479 B. C., that it contained an acrolithic statue of Athena by Phidias, and that it was adorned with paintings by Polygnotus. Herodotus, strange to say, makes no mention of it, though he goes into great detail about the division of the spoil.

Of the Heraeum we fortunately have fuller information. It is first mentioned at the time of the battle in 479 B. C., when the left wing of the Greek army, falling back in some disorder from the spring Gargaphia, retreated toward the city and took up its stand in front of the sacred precinct of Hera,<sup>28</sup> which, according to Herodotus, "lay before the city" (*πρὸ τῆς πόλιος*). Pausanias, the Spartan general of the allied forces, who was stationed at Argiopiis, near the temple of Demeter, looked toward the Heraeum and prayed to the goddess when the sacrifices continued unfavorable.<sup>29</sup> We next hear of it in Thucydides (III. 68), who relates how, after the close of the siege of Plataea, (427 B. C.), when the Thebans had razed the city about a year later, they first built an inn (*καταγώγιον*), 200 feet square, near the Heraeum, made and dedicated couches to Hera, and built in her honor a "stone

<sup>21</sup> HEROD., IX. 25.<sup>22</sup> THUC., III. 24.<sup>23</sup> PLUT., *Vita Aristid.*, XI.<sup>24</sup> HEROD., IX. 57; PLUT., *loc. cit.* Cf. HUNT, in *Papers of School at Athens*, vol. V, p. 276.<sup>25</sup> PLUT., *Vita Aristid.*, XX.<sup>26</sup> PAUS., IX. 4.<sup>27</sup> PLUT., *Vita Aristid.*, XX.<sup>28</sup> HEROD., IX. 52.<sup>29</sup> HEROD., IX. 61; PLUT., *Vita Aristid.*, XVIII.

temple of a hundred feet" (*νεῶν ἑκατόμποδον λίθινον*). Pausanias (IX. 2), writing in the second century A. D., says that it is well worth seeing on account of its size and the beauty of its statues, of which he mentions two by Praxiteles, and one by Callimachus.

We can now compare our observed facts with the statements of the above mentioned writers, and form an opinion whether we have here a temple of Hera or one of Athena. There is, of course, the alternative that our temple was dedicated to some other divinity, not mentioned by the Greek authors; but, as the remains show that the temple was a large one and in a commanding position, this supposition may be safely dismissed. All the evidence seems to point to identification with the Heraeum, the largest and most important temple at Plataea. In the first place, there is no evidence either for or (directly) against identification with the temple of Athena, with regard to which our information is scanty and not precise; so we may exclude this temple and confine our discussion to the Heraeum.

To start with the position, we find that the site of our temple agrees well with the words of Herodotus, *πρὸ τῆς πόλιος*, and also with the description of Pausanias, who speaks of it as if it were *inside* the city when he saw it. Judging from the remains of the city-walls,<sup>30</sup> we know that at the time of the great battle the city of Plataea lay at the upper, *i. e.*, the southern, end of the plateau, and that it occupied only a small area is shown by the fact that during the siege in 427 B. C. a force of 480 men was sufficient to hold the city.<sup>31</sup> This being the case, the town would slope down toward the broad end of the plateau and face the north, so that the preposition *πρό* is the natural one to use of a building situated as is the newly discovered one. By the time of Pausanias, however, the town had grown down the slope, and, as shown by the walls, probably occupied most of the space to the north of the upper cross-wall,<sup>32</sup> the newly discovered wall being apparently the northern limit of the city at this time; so that, when Pausanias saw the town, our temple must have lain inside the city-walls, just as he speaks of it.

The incident of the retreat of the left wing of the Greeks from the fountain of Gargaphia toward the city, also points to the identity of our building with the Heraeum. As related by Herodotus, the Greeks intended to fall back from Gargaphia upon the so-called Island, which

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Papers of the American School at Athens*, v. p. 260 *seq.*

<sup>31</sup> THUC., II. 78.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. MAP, *loc. cit.*, p. 256.

lay in front of the city, but, taking fright at the Persian cavalry, they fled toward the city itself and halted at the Heraeum. Now the road to Thebes, leading past or near the "Island," would probably be crossed by the retreating Greeks, and would be the most natural route to take back to the town, marching upon it being much easier and quicker than in the heavy fields on either side. Then, as mentioned above, there is a gentle ascent to the plateau between *V* and *W*, and straight across the path of the advancing body of men stretches the moderately high and steep slope of the temple-terrace, enough to check their onward rush. The sanctity of the spot would appeal to them as a protection, and on the plateau just below the site of our temple they would naturally halt, under the shadow of the sanctuary of the great goddess of the Plataeans. A glance at the map of Plataea will make the position clear.

It may also be brought forward, in support of our view, that the temple in question would be visible from the spot fixed upon by Mr. Hunt as the site of the temple of Demeter. This argument is of no great weight, as Pausanias perhaps looked only *toward* the Heraeum. The roof of it would probably be visible to him, or enough of it to give him an idea of where it lay.

The small clay figurine may be a votive copy of the seated statue of Hera by Callimachus which was known as the "Bride."<sup>33</sup> Hera, as the bride of Zeus, is commonly represented with a veil, and the figurine has a veil over her head. We know that Hera was the chief goddess of Plataea, and that our temple was an important one is shown by its size alone, since it is larger than the Temple of Apollo at Bassae, or the Heraeum at Olympia. The coin of Licinius also goes to show that our temple was standing in his time and hence must have been seen by Pausanias. All these facts being taken into account, the conclusion that we have here the Heraeum is a very natural one.

There is, however, another line of argument which points to the same conclusions with reference both to the date of erection and to the builders of our temple. This is based on what Thucydides says of the action of the Thebans after the close of the siege of Plataea, in 427 B. C. On our MAP of Plataea there appears, on the level surface of the plateau just below our temple, a spot marked *Agora*, where there is a wall, 31.80 m. long, with about eight piers in the same line. This wall and the piers are of the Roman period and built in *opus incertum*, of rubble and mortar. This was probably

<sup>33</sup> PAUSANIAS, IX. 2. 3.

the Agora of the Roman town, and it seems probable that it was built on the site of the old *καταγώγιον*, erected by the Thebans for the "reception of those who might come to worship at the temple of Juno,"<sup>34</sup> and who would have no accommodations after the destruction of the city. Such a building, the resort of pilgrims and merchants, would naturally become, in course of time, the commercial centre of the new-built city, and might well be replaced by the Roman Agora. If this is indeed the case, our temple is undoubtedly the Heraeum; and we have further evidence to the same effect in the layer of blackened earth, which proves that an earlier building once existed on the site. This earlier building may have been destroyed by the Persians, before the battle of Salamis, or perhaps by the Thebans, though it is unlikely that they would have burned a temple of Hera.<sup>35</sup> It seems hardly probable, however, that they would build a new temple; though they may perhaps have pulled down the old structure to replace it by one more splendid. The plan in its disposition is evidently pre-Persian; and it may very well be that the Thebans used the old foundations, and made a new superstructure of marble, which would accord with the use of the word *λίθινον*.

We get further confirmation of this view from a consideration of the word *ἑκατόμπεδος* and an examination of the dimensions of our temple. It is well known that the naos of the Athenian temple of Athena was called Hecatompedon from its length of 100 Attic feet, without counting the end walls, one Attic foot corresponding to 0.308 metre. Adding the lengths of the compartments *Q*, *R*, *S*, *T*, and the walls *C*, *D*, *E* (leaving out the walls *B*, *F*), in the plan of our temple, we get a length of 35.30 m., only 4.50 m. longer than the 30.80 m. required. The difference is not great, and it is very probable that the term was used merely as an approximation.<sup>36</sup>

All the facts and arguments thus seem to point to the conclusion that the newly discovered temple is the famous Heraeum, and that it was built by the Thebans in the year 426-5, after the destruction of an earlier temple on the same site. This being the case, the statue

<sup>34</sup> ARNOLD, *Note to Thuc.*, III. 68.

<sup>35</sup> If they did, the new temple and the dedicatory couches may be considered as offerings in expiation.

<sup>36</sup> [From the east side of wall *E* to the columns at *B* is a length of 30 m., which is very close to that of the Athenian Hecatompedon. If this view is adopted, it is probable that the chamber *S* opened into the cella *R*, as at Segesta.—C. W.]

of Rhea by Praxiteles would have stood in the chamber Q, the pro-naos, while the large statue of Hera would have been at the west end of the naos, R. The seated statue of Hera, by Callimachus, may also have stood in the same room, or may possibly have been in S or T.

It is greatly to be regretted that no inscription was found to settle the matter beyond all cavil; and further excavation on the site might yield something of importance.

HENRY S. WASHINGTON.

Venice,

September 17, 1891.

### APPENDIX.

A few objects of slight importance were brought to light during the excavations which do not affect the main subject of interest.

In the excavations last year and also this year, there were found at *Church I* several (about half a dozen) small stone implements or tools. They are of a very light brown, translucent, obsidian, of a long, blade-like shape, pointed at one end, with an obtuse triangular section, and bent slightly convex toward the apex. In length they are 0.05–6 m., in breadth about 0.05 m., and in thickness (apex to base of section) about 0.02 m. As they are too slender for cutting- or scraping-blades, the only obvious explanation seems to be that they were arrow-heads, though their slight curvature would apparently be a disadvantage. Some specimens are among the small articles in the so-called museum at Kokla.

One of my workmen pointed out to me an inscription which he had uncovered earlier in the spring when ploughing a small field at *Church VII*. It is on the flat face of a block of white marble, 0.67 m. long, by 0.30 m. high, which is apparently the dripstone of an Ionic entablature, with the egg-and-dart and reel-and-bead mouldings above. The inscription, in letters 0.02 m. high, of the second century A. D., is complete in the beginning, but ends with the broken stone at the right. It runs as follows: ✠ΟΔΓΕΠΙΚΚ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΟΤΟ, which may be read: ✠'Ο ἅγιος ἐπίσκοπος Διονυσόδωρος τοῦτο ἀνέθηκεν]. "The holy bishop Dionysodorus dedicated this." The inscription is evidently very much later than the dripstone, which is of very good workmanship.

Several short inscriptions found last year may be inserted here, as they are still unpublished.

1. Broken slab of white marble 0.45 × 0.14 m., found at a ruined church above the Vergoutiani Spring where Mr. Hunt places the Temple of Demeter. Letters about 0.10 m. high.

Ο ΕΙΩΑΥΤΩΝΚΟΙΜΗΙΙ

2. Fragment of late unfluted column of white marble, 0.24 m. high, 0.15 m. through, at a small ruined chapel of St. Demetrius, east of the plateau. Letters about 0.02 m. high.

CO / Λ Π  
ΑΡΤΕΜ  
ΦΙΛΟΟΟ

3. Fragment of slab, of white marble, 0.23 m. high, 0.15 m. wide and 0.05 m. thick. Letters 0.02 m. high. From the "theatre site."

ΝΥΜΟΣ  
ΛΟΥ

HENRY S. WASHINGTON.

*Venice,*  
September 17, 1891.



EXCAVATIONS BY THE SCHOOL AT ERETRIA  
IN 1891.

[PLATE IV (PLAN).]

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

A preliminary and summary account of the results of the excavations at Eretria in Euboea, carried on during the spring of 1891 by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens under my direction, was sent for publication to the Committee of the School, at the close of the excavations, embodied in my Report to the Committee for 1890-1891. The complete and authoritative account of our work at Eretria will contain several articles corresponding to the distribution of the work among the members of the expedition which I made at the beginning of excavation, and will probably be terminated in the course of the coming year. According to this organization, my colleague, Professor Richardson, of Dartmouth College, the Annual Director for the past year, undertook the department of epigraphy, together with a historical account of Eretria; Mr. Fossum, late of Johns Hopkins University, remained at Eretria during the whole period of excavation, displaying most intelligent perseverance in his work, and had charge of the excavation of the *skene* of the theatre; Mr. Brownson, of Yale University, had charge of the *cavea* of the theatre; Mr. Pickard of Dartmouth College, and Mr. Gilbert, of Brown University, were in charge of the survey of all the walls of the ancient city with a view to produce a topographical map of the district; Mr. Pickard also made a careful topographical study of the locality, and, assisted by Messrs. Brownson and Fossum, did most of the levelling of the theatre. I undertook the excavation of graves in the neighbor-

hood of Eretria, including that which has been called the Tomb of Aristotle, in addition to the general supervision of the work.

Besides the general advisability of delaying the publication of results until all the material has been collected and sifted, another cogent reason lies in the fact that the work at the theatre is not yet completed, and must be continued in the coming season. Even as regards the *skene*, some digging will still have to be done in the region of the *parodoi* and the walls marked PΣ and OΞ on the PLAN (PL. IV).

However, the important bearings of the theatre we have excavated upon fundamental questions of the Greek stage, and thus upon the nature of the performance of ancient Greek plays, are such that our work has already been introduced by both contending parties into the controversy now in progress. Dr. Dörpfeld (in the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*), Messrs. E. A. Gardner and Loring, and Miss Sellers (in the *Athenæum*), have quoted the theatre of Eretria in support of their respective views. In a letter to the *Athenæum* (in July, 1891) I pointed to the prematureness of any introduction of the theatre of Eretria for evidence on either side, and asked that we should be allowed to make an accurate publication of the facts we had established, before they were made the subject of inference and controversy. But, considering the exceptional importance of the *skene* of Eretria, together with the impatience manifested by the scientific world for the publication of our work, I have deemed it right to issue at once the papers of Professor Richardson and those of Messrs. Fossum and Brownson, together with the plan of the theatre so far as excavated.

In the publication of the ancient remains of the theatre it was my intention to avoid, as far as possible, for the present, the drawing of conclusions directly implying acceptance of the main views of either of the parties which now stand opposed in the hypothetical reconstruction of the Greek stage, and to limit our publication to the simple and exact statement of the facts we had brought to light. This reticence I thought called for, because, though what may be called the "orthodox" view of the Greek stage has had adequate exposition, the new views of Dr. Dörpfeld have not yet been supported by a full and systematic account of the numerous data collected by that eminent archæologist in support of his theories. Pending this publication it did not appear to me wise for archæologists who had not access to all the material at the disposal of Dr. Dörpfeld either to accept his views unconditionally, or to oppose them.

Now, in Mr. Fossum's account it will readily be perceived that he leans strongly toward the support of Dr. Dörpfeld's views. But I must state that in the attribution of the very imperfect and confusing traces of walls and architectural members as they appeared during the excavation, as well as in the reconstruction of the theatre, both Mr. Fossum and I came to our opinions independently of Dr. Dörpfeld's theories. Considering the eager perseverance, however, with which Mr. Fossum has worked, as well as the maturity of observation and inference which he has acquired by study, I have decided to allow his paper, on the whole, to remain as he has written it. The definitive publication will have to stand over until the excavation is completed, so far as we propose to carry it. Meanwhile, the plan, as here published, is quite official. It is also our view that the theatre, as it now appears, represents probably three, and certainly two, successive stages in the history of the ancient structure.

Finally, I have much pleasure in adding that we already have, as an immediate consequence of the Eretrian excavations, another favorable result of excavation carried on by our School in this year. At the instigation of my predecessor, Professor Merriam, the excavation of the theatre of Sicyon, undertaken by the School during his term of office, was resumed, with particular reference to the underground passage leading to the centre of the orchestra. Mr. Kabbadias, the Ephor-General of Antiquities in Greece, having, with his usual readiness, granted the required permission, Dr. M. L. Earle, formerly a student of our School, and now instructor in Barnard College, New York, went to Greece during the summer, and, in spite of the heat and difficulty of digging in the hot season, continued the excavations in the theatre of Sicyon, with the important results contained in the paper which is appended to this report. When, in addition to the work at Eretria, we consider Mr. Washington's successful digging at Plataea, and add this latest achievement of Mr. Earle, we have every reason to call the last a very fruitful year of School work.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

August 26, 1891.

## ERETRIA: HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The recent excavations at Eretria justify an attempt to make a picture as full as possible of the rise, the continuance, and the decay of that important city, with the help of scattered literary notices and of inferences from the somewhat impressive remains.

We find Eretria<sup>1</sup> existing at the time of the composition of the Catalogue of the Ships, the Domesday Book of Greece. It appears without epithet or description in *Iliad*, ii. 537. Perhaps not without some significance is it named second among the Eubœan cities, Chalcis being mentioned first. When it emerges into the light or rather into the twilight of history (Thuc., i. 15), it is engaged in disputing with Chalcis the right to the first place. The boldness with which it reached out and laid claim to the Lelantine Plain, which lay so much nearer to Chalcis, argues a long period of prosperity in which it had developed opulence and power. But it is idle to hope for more than here and there a suggestion, throwing a little light on that period. One such suggestion is found in Herod., v. 57, where it is said that the ancestors of Harmodios and Aristogiton claimed to have come from Eretria originally, but that closer investigation led to the belief that they were Phœnicians, who, coming to Boeotia with Cadmus, settled at Tanagra. Anyone who sails up the Euripus on a clear day will be impressed with the nearness of the plain around Tanagra to the shore of Eubœa. Considering that waterways are bonds and not divisions, one may say that Tanagra and Eretria belong to the same great natural amphitheatre surrounded by mountains.<sup>2</sup> This close connection being realized, it seems probable in advance that any Phœnician immigration which reached Boeotia (and this is the only side of Boeotia open to Phœnician immigration) would have included also the Eubœan shore. The passage in Herodotus comes in to give almost a certainty to a reasonable conjecture. Both reports between which Herodotus felt bound to choose were very likely correct. We may put the Gephyræans down as Phœnicians from the region of Eretria and Tanagra.

<sup>1</sup> In spite of its maritime associations, the name, in view of other inland Eretrias and the variant *Ἀροπρία* (STRABO, p. 447), means probably not "oar-town," but "plow-town." TOZER, *Geogr. of Greece*, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> It is in fact one of the most striking signs of the humiliation of Boeotia that Athens reached across or around these mountain barriers and exercised a controlling influence in the affairs of Chalcis and Eretria.

If one seeks for corroborations of Phœnician occupation of Eretria, he finds among the several stories that Strabo has to tell of the origin of the city, one which is to the point. He says (p. 447) that the Arabians who came over with Cadmus (*Ἄραβες οἱ Κάδμω συνδιαβάβητες*) stayed behind in Chalcis and Eretria. But perhaps it is an impertinence to hunt after scattered literary notices, when we have the facts of the presence of the murex along the Euripus (Arist., *Hist. An.*, v. 15) and the copper-industry of Chalcis. Wherever there were purple and copper, there were Phœnicians. We can hardly think of the Phœnicians as occupying Chalcis without including Eretria also. Here were harbor, plain, and acropolis, as at Corinth and Nauplia. We may, then, think of Phœnicians awakening here, as they did everywhere along the coasts that they touched, the ruder Hellenes to a new life.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly Chalcis and Eretria developed early. While Athens and Sparta are still slumbering, these cities are founding colonies from Chalcidice to Cumæ. In the eighth century B. C. they had their blooming period. Miletus and Samos did not develop until a century later, and when they came to the front the Eubœan cities were already on the decline.<sup>4</sup>

It is impossible to trace with certainty anything of the Phœnician settlement at Eretria. Perhaps it was on the peninsula forming the east side of the present harbor. This peninsula was once longer and wider than at present. It is still about 600 ft. long and about 300 ft. wide at its widest part. The action of wind and wave both up and down the Euripus seems destined to wear it away entirely. Even now it is an island at some hours of the day. It contains numerous remains of walls of the Macedonian or the Roman period. What at first appeared to be traces of very old walls much disintegrated proved to be an illusion.

Strabo gives traditions of early settlements in Eretria from Attica and the Peloponnesus, which it is difficult to prove. The immigration from Elis, which is probably separate from that from Triphylia, he attempts to substantiate by appealing to the prevalence of the Elean rhotacism in Eretria.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the mixture of many races, Abantes,

<sup>3</sup> DONDORFF, *Die Ioner auf Eubœa*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> HOLM, *Lange Fehde*, in *Abhandlungen zu Ernst Curtius' 70tem Geburtstag*.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting that a Eubœan inscription, published in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, for 1872, containing the text of a treaty between Eretria and Histiaea, shows several instances of rhotacism, e. g., *δρόραι*, *ἔ[ρχ]ουριν*, *παραβαίνωριν*. Others in *Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.*, 1887, p. 82, *seq.*, and 1890, p. 195, *seq.*

Phœnicians, Ionians, and Æolians, gave to Eretria that alertness which marked it in a peculiar degree.

In the long period of prosperity before the Lelantine War, which made Chalcis and Eretria famous, a sad emerging into history, the two cities went hand in hand. This Curtius finds indicated by the name "Eubœic talent," supposing that had the cities been antagonistic the talent would have been named after one or the other of them.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps they made a mistake in founding colonies conjointly or near together, as in Chalcidice.<sup>7</sup> When the war broke out it is supposed to have been conducted with a bitterness<sup>8</sup> which seems to have been born years before. It is not unlikely that colonial troubles had as much to do with the break as the rich plain between the two cities.<sup>9</sup> The quarrel was fought out with the help of many allies on each side.<sup>10</sup> The Greek world was divided into two hostile camps, a division which showed itself for centuries. Eretria was vanquished without losing her independence or her honorable standing. The two neighbor cities never tried conclusions again, and lived amicably, except when the questions connected with Athenian or Macedonian rule in later times threw them temporarily into hostile camps. Eretria, however, appears to have had a good understanding with Athens in the very period when, shortly before the Persian Wars, Chalcis was conquered by Athens and made an Athenian possession.

The date of the Lelantine War is shown by Curtius<sup>11</sup> to have been the middle of the eighth century B. C. Eretria had still nearly three centuries of history before its first destruction. It now abandoned that extensive scheme of colonization which, with its rivalries, must have been quite a drain upon its population, and now probably reached its maximum. To this time we may refer the stele in the temple of Artemis Amarysia,<sup>12</sup> the principal sanctuary of Eretria, standing about

<sup>6</sup> *Hermes*, x, p. 223. <sup>7</sup> Eretria took as its field Athos and Pallene; STRABO, 447.

<sup>8</sup> The curious compact mentioned in the corrupt passage in STRABO, p. 448, not to use weapons thrown from a distance (*μη χρῆσθαι τηλεβόλοις*), may refer to the heat of the struggle in which both parties wished to kill at close quarters, or to a desire to rule out what seemed to them contrary to proper procedure on the part of scientific warriors. PLUTARCH, *Thest.*, 5, and the passage there quoted from ARCHILOCHUS would favor the latter view.

<sup>9</sup> E. CURTIUS, in *Hermes*, x, p. 219.

<sup>10</sup> HOLM, *Lange Fehde; Thuc.*, I. 15.

<sup>11</sup> *Hermes*, x, p. 220.

<sup>12</sup> This title, which survives in the name of the Attic village Marousi (LEAKE, *Demoi of Attica*, p. 41), was one under which the goddess was worshipped in Attica with no less zeal than at Eretria. PAUS., I. 31. 4.

a mile outside the walls, on which stele, according to Strabo, p. 448, was inscribed a record showing that the Eretrians used to make their great procession out to the temple with three thousand hoplites, six hundred cavalry and sixty chariots. To the same time also we may refer the Eretrian control over Andros, Tenos, Ceos, and other islands.<sup>13</sup> About 500 B. C. the Eretrians set up at Olympia the big bronze bull, the companion piece to the one dedicated by their friends the Corcyraeans.<sup>14</sup>

At the time of the famous wooing of Agariste, in the first half of the sixth century B. C., Eretria was, according to Herod., vi. 127, in its bloom (*ἀνθεύσης τοῦτου τὸν χρόνον*). That Eretria alone of all Greece shared with Athens the attempt to aid the Ionians in their revolt against Darius (Herod., v. 99), speaks well for its prosperity and its spirit. Two things we must not forget in connection with this expedition: first, that it was on Eretria's part the payment of a debt to Miletus for services rendered in the Lelantine War; <sup>15</sup> secondly, that Eretria was in such intimate relations with Athens as to give some color to the story mentioned by Strabo, that Eretria was colonized from an Attic Eretria.

We are not likely to forget the consequences to Eretria of this assistance rendered to the Ionians. In the year 490 B. C., when the opportunity at last came for fulfilling his vow against the Athenians, Darius was not in such haste to take vengeance on these principal abettors of the revolted Ionians, now subdued, that he could forget the Eretrians. On them first fell the blow. The story is told briefly and graphically by Herodotus (vi. 100). In her hour of need Eretria stood alone, with divided counsels and traitors in her walls besides. She did ask Athens for help, and, if we may believe Herodotus, Athens acted not ungenerously. It could hardly be expected that the main body of Athenian troops should go over to Euboea to meet the Persians. That would have been to give Athens to the Persians on the chance of saving Eretria. But Athens assigned to Eretria the four thousand Athenian cleruchs of Chalcis. These, however, did not stay. Before it came to an actual conflict they were off to Oropus, which is the last

<sup>13</sup> STRABO, p. 448.

<sup>14</sup> PAUS., v. 27. 9.

<sup>15</sup> This Ionian revolt was Miletus' affair. It is noteworthy that the Samians, the enemies of Miletus and Eretria in the Lelantine War, ruined the Ionian cause by deserting almost in a body to the Persians in the naval battle on which all was staked; HEROD., vi. 14.

we hear of them. They do not appear to have done service either at Marathon or before Athens.<sup>16</sup>

Left alone, the Eretrians voted down the suggestion of retiring to the mountains, and, deciding not to risk an engagement in the open, retired within their walls and defended themselves for six days, incurring and inflicting great losses. On the seventh day, two traitors, Euphorbus and Philagrus, betrayed the city to the Persians, who destroyed the temples and enslaved all the inhabitants, who, after witnessing the discomfiture of the Persians at Marathon from an island near by, were taken away on the Persian fleet and settled in the heart of the Persian dominion.

Yet Eretria did not lose its corporate existence, for ten years later its seven ships appear in the lists of the Greeks who fought at Artemisium and Salamis.<sup>17</sup> At Plataea also it furnished with Styra (which was probably an insignificant appendage, as it sent only two ships to the Greek fleet; Herod., VII. 1) a contingent of six hundred men drawn up in line next to the four hundred Chalcidians.<sup>18</sup> Its name was carved on the tripod-standard of serpents, set up at Delphi, that roll of honor of the victorious Greeks. It is still "plain for all folks to see," on the fourth inscribed coil, reckoning from the bottom. Probably there were refugees enough to form a nucleus of a city immediately after the withdrawal of the Persians from Marathon.<sup>19</sup> Herodotus does not say that anything was destroyed except its temples. Greek dwellings, for that matter, if destroyed, were soon replaced. Whatever walls then existed could not easily have been overthrown. A gate or two might have been broken down, but the Persians surely had no time and probably no tools to wreck such walls as those the remains of which are now to be seen on the acropolis of Eretria. They waited only *ὀλίγας ἡμέρας*, and then went on to Marathon.

<sup>16</sup> WECKLEIN, *Tradition der Perserkriege*, p. 39, supposes that Herodotus has here, as usual, colored his narrative in the interest of the Athenians, in inserting the story of an Eretrian, Aeschines, sending word to the Athenian allies that traitors were going to give Eretria to the Persians, and that it was time to act on the principle *saure qui peut*. The fear of "the men clad in the Persian garb" was probably still strong enough to induce these allies to get across to Oropus as soon as possible without being sent away.

<sup>17</sup> HEROD., VIII. 1 and 46.

<sup>18</sup> HEROD., IX. 28, 31.

<sup>19</sup> Considering the great talk of taking refuge in the mountains and of the likelihood that the city was to be betrayed, it would be very strange if many at least of the non-combatants had not taken refuge individually according to the suggestion.



The great question in regard to the topography of Eretria is whether or not the present acropolis walls are those of the pre-Persian city. I believe that they are pre-Persian, and the very walls to which the scattered Eretrians who were not carried off to Asia returned. But for a single passage in Strabo, no one would ever have supposed that a city like the pre-Persian Eretria could have been established anywhere along this coast except on this very hill. Settlers who left this out, and chose another spot near by, would have become more proverbial in Greece than the "blind men" who chose Chalcedon and left Byzantium to later arrivals. But Strabo (p. 403), in reckoning distances from the Bœotian side to the Eubœan side of the gulf, makes a distinction between Old Eretria and New Eretria, which would seem to locate the pre-Persian city a little over a mile to the east of the later one. In spite of the doubt whether Strabo ever visited this region, and in spite of his colossal errors in regard to places which he has not visited,<sup>20</sup> geographers have generally sought to identify some of the foundations of walls to the east of the acropolis with old Eretria. It is refreshing to find recently a spirit of revolt against this slavery to a passage of Strabo. Lolling, in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* (III, p. 192), says simply: *Eine Stelle weiter östlich wurde als Alt-Eretria bezeichnet.* The same author in the *Mittheilungen d. deutschen archäolog. Institutes in Athen*, vol. x, p. 353, says: *Das Schweigen der Historiker und aller anderen Schriftsteller berechtigt uns zu der Annahme, das die Bezeichnung der Fundamente unweit der Stadt als Alt-Eretria auf eine Linie zu stellen ist mit der jetzigen Bezeichnung Paläochora, für eine Ortschaft deren Name verschollen ist.*<sup>21</sup> Strabo being treated as a reporter of traditions, we may make Lolling's words (*l. c.*) our own: *An eine wirkliche Verlegung der Stadt, und noch dazu an eine so nahe liegende andere Stelle, wird Niemand glauben, denn so gewiss die Stadtgründung Athens sich an die Akropolis anschloss, so deutlich ist auch die vortretende Höhe des eretrischen Olympos von Natur zur Akropolis einer grösseren Stadtgründung des Nord-Attika gegenüber liegenden Küstenstrichs prädestinirt.*

But, besides the impression which one gets from sojourning in Eretria that here and here only must the city have found its acropolis,

<sup>20</sup> For the confusion between Cirrha and Crissa cf. STRABO, p. 416.

<sup>21</sup> In addition to the several cases of "Alt-Theben," which Lolling adduces, the striking case of Palaia Larissa might be adduced, the name under which Crannon was hidden until it was brought forth by Leake.

the remaining walls make upon any one first and last an impression of great antiquity. If it is not absolutely certain that they are pre-Persian, it is certain that they cannot be much *later* than the Persian War.<sup>23</sup> But for a mere remnant of returning fugitives, who would lay out a new acropolis of such large proportions? It is clear that the existing acropolis belonged originally to a large and prosperous city. Here is a homogeneous system of polygonal wall more than a mile in extent, with towers of polygonal masonry at irregular intervals, enclosing the whole area of the acropolis hill, which slopes to the south and the harbor, but falls off abruptly on its other sides. One may suppose New Eretria in these old walls to have regained gradually new life and strength, leaning perhaps on the arm of Athens.<sup>23</sup> In the time of Pericles, 446 B. C., it seems to have been recalcitrant with the rest of Euboea, and to have required the controlling influence of some Athenian cleruchs.<sup>24</sup> At last, in 411 B. C., it threw off the Athenian yoke in a rather treasonable manner. The Athenian fleet being beaten by the Spartans in a naval engagement off the harbor, a disaster brought about largely by the Eretrians having refused to furnish supplies, many Athenians escaped to Eretria as to a friendly city, and were immediately put to death by the Eretrians.<sup>25</sup>

Something of the history of the period subsequent to the Persian War we may trace in the walls. The first use of returning prosperity would naturally be the repair and strengthening of these walls. At the north-east angle was always one principal entrance, the approach to which was flanked by a wall over 100 feet long, departing from the main wall at a very acute angle, and so forcing an enemy to approach the entrance between two nearly parallel walls. The entrance, at the junction of the two walls, was protected by one of the towers of polygonal masonry mentioned above.<sup>26</sup> This may have been the very entrance through

<sup>23</sup> These walls are not unlike the earlier walls of the acropolis of the Boeotian Orchomenus, or those of Kastriza, near Joannina, which was supposed by Leake to be ancient Dodona.

<sup>23</sup> It is a question what Xerxes' fleet would have done to a restored Eretria as it passed along down the Euripus in plain sight of it.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *CIA*, I, 339; *THUC.*, I, 114.

<sup>25</sup> *THUC.*, VIII, 95.

<sup>26</sup> See the plan accompanying Mr. PICKARD'S article on the Topography of Eretria. There is a similar arrangement on the west side, where remains of two outlying towers are found, and a line of wall from one of these to a gate in the main enclosing-wall. From the other tower to the main wall we must assume also a line of wall, though it is now impossible to trace it.

which the Persians passed. Whether they broke it down or not, it has evidently been remodelled on a large scale, and made the one principal entrance. Two large towers, one at the corner of the main wall, and another at a lower level at the end of the projecting wall, make a strong defense of the approach to the long lane through which the enemy must still pass after having forced this approach. These towers are built much more in regular courses than the older towers, but even they could hardly be later than the Peloponnesian War. On the east side and also on the north side, a massive tower has been added at places where the wall seemed to need strengthening. Though all these added towers display the same general plan, the north tower is the most regular in construction, and so probably the last one built. It has no organic connection with the old wall, but is built up against it, while the east tower is built right across the wall. All this work seems to have been completed before the Macedonian period.

At the time of the formation of the Second Athenian Confederacy, 378 B. C., Eretria cheerfully joined it.<sup>27</sup> At this time Eretria had probably become, if not relatively as large as before its destruction, because the other cities of Greece had grown rapidly since the Persian Wars, yet absolutely as large. This may be inferred from the extent of the walls of the lower town. Along the bay, on which the modern village stands, and at some distance to the east of it, run these walls, with finely laid foundations, joining the acropolis to the harbor and enclosing a space large enough for a city of 40,000 inhabitants, as the old Greeks used to quarter themselves. We cannot suppose these walls to be a huge shell created for a population about to come, by a visionary like Otho, who laid out the modern village. Their structure would admit of referring them to the third century, but it is more likely that they belong to the fourth. To this same period we may assign the theatre, which was remodelled from time to time. After Leuctra and the breaking up of the Athenian Confederacy, the period of prosperity for Eretria was doubtless seriously impeded by the rapid changes in its foreign relations, which were always accompanied by factions at home.<sup>28</sup> In 366 B. C., a certain Themison, who was in control of Eretria, wrested Oropus from the

<sup>27</sup> DIODOR., xv. 30; *CIA*, II, 1, 17.

<sup>28</sup> For a vivid picture of the unhappy condition of Eubœa at this time, see CURTIUS, *Gesch. Griech.*, III, p. 589.

Athenians and turned it over to the Thebans.<sup>29</sup> When Philip began to play a controlling part in Greek affairs, it is certain that the Eubœans did not view his encroachments with that deathly anxiety with which Demosthenes watched them. They had already become somewhat accustomed to being a football between larger powers. There was always a large party in the different cities inclined to seek salvation through Philip. Perhaps it required as much fomenting on the part of Athens to keep the anti-Macedonian spirit alive as it cost Philip to lay it. From Philip's occupation of Amphipolis and his first serious break with the Athenians to his victory at Chaeronea, a period of nearly twenty years, Eretria can have had little settled quiet. It emerges into the light, but into the distorted light of the orations of Demosthenes and Aeschines. Men, called by Demosthenes tyrants, followed one another in quick succession. These were, doubtless, men who obtained influence with their fellow citizens much in the same way that Pericles and Demosthenes obtained it at Athens. Sometimes, however, they may have owed their elevation to their influence with the foreign power. Of these so called tyrants, Themison and Clitarchus<sup>30</sup> were Philip's men; Menestratus<sup>31</sup> guided affairs for a while in the interest of Athens. Plutarchus, on whom the Athenians counted, proved to be their worst enemy, abandoning them almost to their ruin in the battle of Tamynæ, 350 B. C., to which he had invited them as allies to dispossess his rival Clitarchus and win the city for themselves.<sup>32</sup> This second treachery of Eretria, from which the Athenians escaped only by the presence of mind and the masterly generalship of Phocion, must have given the Eretrians a bad name at Athens. Yet in 340 B. C. we find Athens, in a magnificent burst of enthusiasm evoked by Demosthenes, driving out the last and worst of the tyrants, Clitarchus, and freeing Eretria for the last time.<sup>33</sup>

In Demosthenes' reference to Eretrian affairs, frequent mention is made of Porthmos.<sup>34</sup> This seems to have been some harbor of Eretrian territory, perhaps identical with the present port of Aliveri, the

<sup>29</sup> Cf. DEM., XVIII. 99, AESCHIN., III. 85. In 357 B. C. the Athenians "freed" Eubœa, as they called it; i. e., they once more obtained a controlling influence, by breaking down the power of Thebes in the island by an expedition suggested by Timotheos and participated in by Demosthenes: DEM., XVIII. 99. Probably Eretria shared in the benefits of this deliverance, whatever they were.

<sup>30</sup> DEM., IX. 57 f.

<sup>31</sup> DEM., XXIII. 124.

<sup>32</sup> AESCHIN., III. 86 ff; PLUTARCH, *Phoc.*, 12 f.

<sup>33</sup> DEM., XVIII. 87; DIODOR., XVI. 74.

<sup>34</sup> DEM., IX. 33, 58; XVIII. 71; XIX. 87.

town of Aliveri corresponding to Tamynae.<sup>35</sup> But what we read in some commentaries: "Porthmos was *the* harbor of Eretria," is certainly nonsense. Eretria had a good harbor of its own immediately under its own walls. So complete was its identity with the city that it could hardly be possible that it should bear a separate name.

It must have been almost a comfort to Eretria and the rest of Euboea when they were at last landed in the Macedonian camp, and knew where they were. So well content were the Eretrians, that when the Macedonians showed signs of falling before the Romans, they were in no haste to change masters. The report which Livy (XXII. 16) gives of the stubborn resistance here offered to the combined fleets of Attalus, the Romans, and the Rhodians, indicates no falling off in valor since the days when the Persians were before the gates; while the great number of statues and paintings (*plura quam pro urbis magnitudine*), taken by the conquerors, speaks well for the refinement of the city under Macedonian rule. It had not, even in former days, been wholly neglected by the Muses and Graces. The poet Achaëus was a native of Eretria,<sup>36</sup> even if greater Athens claimed him as hers in his later years. Here also was a school of philosophy, founded by Menedemus, a disciple of Plato.<sup>37</sup> The Macedonian period was a good time for the philosophers to sit and think.

At about the beginning of the Macedonian period we find Eretria beginning to wrestle with its hydra, the great swamp on the east side of the town. In an inscription discovered at Chalcis and published in the *Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1869, p. 1 ff., it is recorded that a certain Chaerephanes agrees to drain the marsh (*λίμνη*) in at most four years. For this he was to have the use of the recovered land for ten years at an annual rent of thirty talents. The editor of the inscription, Eustratiades, puts its date at 340–278 B. C. At any rate, it was of a time when the city was still independent. The *βουλή* and the *δῆμος* appear as in possession of authority.

Under Roman dominion Eretria continued to flourish. At the time of Augustus it was still the second city of Euboea.<sup>38</sup> It was nominally free, too, after the battle of Cynoscephalæ.<sup>39</sup> If actually under the Roman rule, it at least enjoyed the privilege of being freed from that of Athens. There is one wall on the acropolis which, by the presence of mortar, is distinctly marked as Roman. This is the cross-wall high

<sup>35</sup> STRABO, p. 448.

<sup>36</sup> ATHENÆUS, x, p. 251, c.

<sup>37</sup> ATHENÆUS, II, p. 55, d.

<sup>38</sup> STRABO, p. 446.

<sup>39</sup> POLYB., xviii. 30.

up on the hill.<sup>40</sup> There are also several repaired places of uncertain date in the main wall, some of them most likely of the Byzantine time.

In the Byzantine period Eretria may be said to have no history. It is with a real sense of loss that we find the half dozen lines devoted to Eretria in Stephanus of Byzantium largely taken up in telling how to form and decline the gentile nouns. It may have been prosperous for a long time after its records cease for us. Indeed, the numerous Byzantine graves, found often in layers above earlier ones, would seem to indicate that a great many people died in Eretria during that time. Whether at last the city perished by the breath of its own pestilential bogs or by some unnamed incursion of barbarians, we cannot tell. At any rate, it seems not to have played any rôle beside Chalcis in the wars of the Turks and Venetians.

The attempt of King Otho to revive an ancient city on the site of the lower town was a fight against nature. The brave Psariots could fight the Turks, but fever-bogs conquered them; and now the wide streets are given up to grass, and the empty houses stand deep in water in winter and spring. The Naval School, looming up above the other houses, looks mournful with its windowless and roofless walls. In spite of the visionary scheme of the king, in another century the site will probably be again as desolate as that of Eretria's ancient ally, Miletus.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

### INSCRIPTIONS DISCOVERED AT ERETRIA, 1891.

1.            I O T H            [B]ιότη  
              P I Σ T O T E Λ O Y    [A]ριστοτέλου

On a fragment of a marble stele 55 × 42 centimetres, broken at the bottom. The letters, 2 centimetres high, are neatly cut with almost imperceptible apices. The distinctive letters for forming an accurate judgment as to the date of the inscription are wanting, but neither the form of the genitive in *ου* nor the slight curve in the horizontal lines of the letters necessitates putting it later than the third century B. C. This inscription gains an importance hardly to be ascribed to any of the other thirty epitaphs discovered, owing to the possibility (one can hardly claim more than that) of some connection with the great Aristotle, who died at Chalcis. The elegance of the marble tomb in which it was found, apparently the finest in

<sup>40</sup>See Plate x.

Eretria, the city of tombs, indicates a person of distinction. Some signs in the objects found in one of the graves might even be thought to point to the philosopher. The inscription falls in well enough with this hypothesis, which does not imply that the Aristotle of this inscription was the philosopher himself. No tradition brings Aristotle nearer to Eretria than that which puts his death at Chalcis; but the miles and miles of graves, in many places arranged in strata three deep, suggest, even if they do not prove, that Eretria was a favorite burial-place for non-residents. Four of the inscriptions discovered by the American School are for natives of other towns: cf. Nos. 11, 13, 18, 31.

The name Βιότηη occurs in *CIG*, II, 3143 and 3227.

The following four inscriptions were also found at the same place, within and without the marble mausoleum. The slabs on which they are cut are plain gravestones requiring no minute description.

- |    |                                    |                        |
|----|------------------------------------|------------------------|
| 2. | Κ Λ Ε Α Γ Ο Ρ Η<br>Λ Ε Ρ Τ Ι Ν Ο Υ | Κλεαγόρη<br>Λεπτίν[ο]υ |
|----|------------------------------------|------------------------|

The ends of the letters are generally crossed. The Ionic η appears also in No. 20.

- |    |  |                           |
|----|--|---------------------------|
| 3. | Α Ρ Ο Λ Λ Ω Ν Ι Ο Σ<br>Α Ρ Ο Λ Λ Ο Δ Ω Ρ Ο Υ | Ἄπολλώνιος<br>Ἄπολλοδώρου |
|----|--|---------------------------|

4. A fragment found near the east wall of the mausoleum.

- |    |                                  |                            |
|----|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 5. | Α Ρ Χ Ι Μ<br>Α Ν Τ Ι Δ Ω         | Ἄρχιμ[ήδης]<br>Ἄντιδώ[ρου] |
|    | Ε Ρ Γ Α Σ Ι Ω Ν<br>Β Ι Ο Τ Τ Ο Υ | Ἐργασίων<br>Βιόττου        |

This is perhaps the latest of all the inscriptions discovered. Cf. No. 31. The letters have apices, and the ω is much smaller than the adjacent letters. The name Βιόττου recalls Βιότηη of No. 1. The double τ can hardly be distinctively Bœotian, as the name has the same form in *CIG*, I, 223 and 621, and the former of these at least is Athenian. Βιόττος occurs several times in the Eretrian inscriptions of Ἐφημ. Ἄρχ., 1869 and 1887.

- |    |                     |           |
|----|---------------------|-----------|
| 6. | Κ Λ Ε Ο Φ Ο Ι Ν Ι Ξ | Κλεοφῶνιξ |
|----|---------------------|-----------|

This and the following numbers were found about one-third of a mile east of the city-wall in a nest of graves on the property of Belisarios.

This inscription is on a fine stele terminating in a beautifully carved anthemion, and bearing a large rosette under the inscription and on each of the sides of the stele, which is about 6 inches thick and of pure white marble. The part remaining of the stele, the lower part being now broken away, is about five feet long. Its width is about 0.76 m. The letters, apart from O, which is smaller, are 4 centimetres high, and are free from apices. This is probably the oldest of all the sepulchral inscriptions discovered, and is at least as early as the fourth century B. C. The stone when found formed the side of a grave of a somewhat late period. It may have belonged originally to a grave near by, in which were found several white lekythoi. The Ξ is the letter which most distinctly bears witness to an early date. The same form is found on a stone now lying in the museum at Eretria inscribed ΞΕΝΑΡΕΤ. The name Κλεοφοῦνιξ appears to be new.

The other stones discovered at the same place are plain, most of them of marble, some more or less broken, and none deserving a minute description as to form.

- |    |  |                        |
|----|--|------------------------|
| 7. | Κ Τ Η Ρ Ι Λ Λ Α<br>Δ Ε Ρ Κ Υ Λ Ι Δ Ο Υ | Κτήριλλα<br>Δερκυλίδου |
|----|--|------------------------|

This is mainly interesting as showing perhaps in Κτήριλλα or Κτήσιλλα an example of the rhotacism for which Strabo (p. 448) says the Eretrians were noted, and which betrayed their connection with Elis. This rhotacism at Eretria is now fully assured by the inscriptions in Έφημ. Αρχ., 1890, pp. 200 seq.

- |    |                                    |                          |
|----|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 8. | . Ε Λ Ι Τ Η<br>. Ε Ρ Κ Υ Λ Ι Δ Ο Υ | [Μ]ελίτη<br>[Δ]ερκυλίδου |
|----|------------------------------------|--------------------------|

The father's name is of course the same as in the preceding number.

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 9.  | Ο Ν Η Σ Ω   | Όνησώ                                    |
| 10. | Ρ Ι Σ Τ Η   | Πίστη                                    |
| 11. | . . . Ι Μ Ο Ν Η<br>Τ Α Ρ Α Μ Ο Ν Ο .<br>Η Ρ Α Κ Λ Ε Ω Τ Η Σ | [Περ]ιμόνη<br>Παράμονο[ς]<br>Έρακλεώτης. |

For Παράμονος cf. No. 29. Παραμόνη occurs on a stone in the museum at Eretria. The name was a favorite in Boeotia, and occurs on the dedication-stele found by the American School in 1890 at Plataea.



- |     |                       |                       |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 12. | ΚΛΕΙΤΟΜΑΧΗ<br>ΣΙΜΥΛΟΥ | Κλειτομάχη<br>Σιμύλου |
|-----|-----------------------|-----------------------|

Letters with apices, Σ somewhat divergent and curved. The second M is nearly upright. These names occur in the same order on a stele in the museum, with an anthemion above and two rosettes below the inscription, which stele has a form very similar to that containing No. 6, by which, however, it is surpassed somewhat in elegance.

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 13. | . . Λ Ε Μ Ω Ν<br>. . . Ρ Τ Α Τ Ο Υ<br>. Α Σ Σ Α Ν Δ Ρ Ε Υ Σ | [Πο]λέμων<br>[Ἵπε]ρτάτου<br>[Κ]ασσανδρέυς. |
|-----|---|--|

*Κασσάνδρεια* was the city founded on the site of old Potidaea.

- |     |           |       |
|-----|-----------|-------|
| 14. | Σ Υ Ρ Ο Σ | Σύρος |
|-----|-----------|-------|

*Cf.* ΣΥΡΑ on the Plataean stele alluded to above (under No. 11).

- |     |                                |                           |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 15. | Μ Ε Λ Η Τ . Σ<br>Ι Ι Λ Ι Ν . Υ | Μέλητ[ο]ς<br>[Φ]ιλίν[ο]υ. |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------------------------|

The O as well as the round part of the Φ were never cut. The stone is perfectly smooth where the incisions would come. Perhaps the workman deferred his round work on account of its greater difficulty, and then forgot it, or possibly used paint.

- |     |                |
|-----|----------------|
| 16. | Α Λ Λ<br>Γ Α Τ |
|-----|----------------|

On a small fragment broken at both sides.

- |     |   |  |
|-----|---|--|
| 17. | Δ Ι Ω Ν   | Δίων   |
| 18. | Δ Ι Ο Τ Ε Ι Μ Α<br>Μ Η Ν Ο Γ Ε Ν Ο Υ<br>Θ Η Β Α Ι Α<br>Χ Ρ Η . . .<br>Χ Α Ι Ρ Ε | Διοτείμα<br>Μηνογένου<br>Θηβαία<br>χρη[στή]<br>χαίρε |
| 19. | Σ Ω Σ Ι Β Ι Ο Σ<br>Σ Ω Σ Ι Κ Λ Ε Ο Υ Σ  | Σωσίβιος<br>Σωσικλέους                               |
| 20. | Ι Ω Β Ι Η   | Ζωβίη  |

Note the form Ι (ζ) and the Ionism in the termination, for which *cf.* No. 2.

21.           ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΗΔΗΣ           Ἀριστομήδης  
              ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ           Ἀριστομάχου

22.                            Ν Ι Κ  
                                  Μ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ Ο

The stone is an irregular piece, and the restoration uncertain. The same may be said of (No. 23):

23.                            ι λ α  
                                  ? Ν Ο Σ

24.           ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ           Ἀπολλώνιος

25.                   Δ Ω Ρ Ι Ε Υ .           Δωριεύ[ς]  
                      Δ Ι Ο Γ Ε Ν Ο . .   Διογένε[ς]

26.           ΑΓΧΙΑΡΟΣ           Ἀγχίαιρος

27.           ΠΡΩΤΥΛΛΑ           Πρωτύλλα

28.           ΔΗΜΑΡΕΤΗ           Δημαρέτη

This is on a marble larger and finer than most of the others, with elaborate mouldings at the top. The letters are large, 4 centimetres high.

29.           ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ           Παράμονος  
              ΚΕΡΔΩΝΟΣ           Κέρδωνος

*Cf.* No. 11.

30.                   . Υ Ρ Ρ Ι Α Ξ           [Π]υρρίας  
                      Χ Ρ Η Ξ Τ Ο Ξ           χρηστός

Note O smaller than the other letters; ξ divergent. Letters handsome and somewhat enlarged at ends of lines.

31.           Κ Α Ρ Π Ο Σ           Κάρπος  
              Β Α Ρ Ν Α Ν Α Ι Ο Υ   Βαρναναίου  
              Α Ν Τ Ι Ο Χ Ε Υ Σ   Ἀντιοχεύς

This inscription, though more rudely cut, shares with No. 5 the broken barred A and the extravagant apices, and apparently belongs to the Roman period. The greater part of the other inscriptions probably fall in the second century, B. C.

The name Βαρναναῖος occurs in a Delian (Rheneian) inscription, *CIG*, II, Add. 2322, b. 58., and is explained by Boeckh as Semitic "Bar," compounded with some other word. He compares Βαρναῖος,

CIG, II, 2319, who is there called Τύριος. For Tyrians at Delos, cf. CIG, II, 2271 and 2290.

Besides these inscriptions there is one, probably to be included in a collection about to be published by a member of the German Archæological Institute, to which a passing word may be given. This is on a piece of marble walled into a church just built, still lacking the roof, on the site of an older one at the south foot of the hill Kotroni, about a mile east of the acropolis of Eretria. Just about on this spot probably stood the most sacred temple of the Eretrian territory—that of Artemis Amarysia.

The inscription reads :

.. ΟΥ . . . Χ Ο Ξ	[Πλ]οῦ[ταρ]χος
.. ΟΥ . Α Ρ Χ Ο Υ	[Πλ]οῦ[τ]άρχου

It will be remembered that there is a Plutarchus of Eretria who plays in Demosthenes an unenviable rôle in betraying his city into the hands of Philip. Cf. Dem., ix. 57. In Aeschines III. 86, the same personage appears as a traitor to the Athenians in the battle of Tamynæ. He was probably the most prominent citizen of Eretria at this time, in point of wealth and influence. His espousal of the cause of Macedonia gave him a bad name with the Athenians.

The unlikelihood that there should be in a small city like Eretria more than one family in which Plutarchus would be used as a name, encourages the supposition that this tombstone belonged to this Plutarchus or to some member of his family.

Another grave-inscription, found about 7 kilometres east of the city, and about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kilometres back from the shore, has an interest beyond any other of its kind discovered in Eretria. It is on a slab of bluish marble  $0.75 \times 0.35$ , and 0.17 thick, with a slightly raised border at the top. A peasant, who showed it to me with an air of great mystery, after leading me through the bushes for more than an hour, allowed me to copy it, as it lay on edge up against a hovel occupied by another peasant. At the time (February 27, 1891) I was told that it had been taken one month before from a tomb which bore marks of having recently been opened, about 300 feet from the house. I could, however, ascertain nothing as to the contents of the tomb, which was a large one, 8 feet square, nor as to the excavators of it. Subsequently I visited the place again, finding it with great difficulty, and took three squeezes ;

but, as the occupant of the house was absent, I could elicit no further information.

The inscription reads as follows :

32. . . . . ΕΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥΔΙ . . . . . ΝΕΞΦΥΞΔΙΚΑΙΟΞΚΑΙΕΥΞΕΒΗΣ  
 . ΙΘΕΟΞΕΞΘΗΓΗΚΑΓΘΕΟΞΕΙΜΙΔΙΚΑΙΩΞ  
 ΕΚΓΗΞΓΑΡΒΛΑΞΤΩΝΓΕΝΟΜΗΝΝΕΚΡΟΞΕΓΔΕΝΕΚΡΟΥΓΗ  
 . . . . . ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ . . . . .

[Χαῖρ]ε, Διοδώρου Δι[όγε]νες, φύς δίκαιος καὶ εὐσεβής.  
 [ε]ἰ θεός ἐσθ' ἢ γῆ κἀγὼ θεός εἰμι δικαίως·  
 ἐκ γῆς γὰρ βλαστῶν γενόμενν νεκρὸς ἐγ δὲ νεκροῦ γῆ.  
 Διογένης

In the first line the dead is addressed with the usual fond farewell. In the last two lines he is made to give his reply, which is a curious argument. "If earth is a goddess, I surely am a god, for I sprung from earth, and became a corpse, and from a corpse earth again." This is cold comfort. Bryant's

"Earth, that nourished thee, shall claim  
 Thy growth to be resolved to earth again,"<sup>41</sup>

is serious and plain, but the sentiment of our inscription seems much like a jest on a serious subject. Inscriptions could hardly have taken this tone before the Hellenistic period. The play is an approach to the Anacreontic drinking song, beginning, Ἡ γῆ μέλαινα πίνει. Though Ge was a rather transparent personification among the gods, and liberties might be taken with her which one did not feel authorized to take with other divinities, this trivial vein is rather characteristic of an age that had lost its faith. Of course, apart from the epigraphic evidence, the lack of any expression of hope would forbid making it a Christian epitaph.

Since the last two lines are hexameters, it would seem likely that the first was also intended to be such. The first foot, Χαῖρε Δι, might pass, but in that case the next foot would be impossible. If we take the well-nigh impossible foot, Χαῖρε Δῑο, to start with, we can then run through four good feet, but we come next to δίκαιος, which refuses to conform to the exigencies of the verse, and besides we have more than six feet. The last three syllables refuse to make a hexameter ending. In spite of all the liberties taken with hexameters in epitaphs (see Al-

<sup>41</sup> Cf. KAIBEL, *Epigrammata Græca*, No. 606.

len in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, vol. IV, p. 45 *seq.*), it is venturesome to try to make anything more than plain prose out of this first line.

There was once a fourth line of the inscription, but it was subsequently entirely erased, except the name, *Διογένης*. The cutting may have been done by more unskilful hands than some others of the same age; but even with this allowance the stone seemed to bear upon its face marks of antiquity. ξ and Μ are very much spread out; Ο and Θ are smaller than the other letters.

Besides the grave-inscriptions, three small fragments apparently of a *psephisma* were found in the excavations about the stage in the theatre. The forms of the letters seem to make the inscription as early as the fourth century. The following is a copy:

33.

	·    Θ
	Α Ν Δ Ε . . . Ν
	Τ Ω Ν Δ . . Δ Ι
	Γ Ο Λ Ε Μ Α Ρ Χ
5.	· Μ Η Ν   Α Ι Τ
	Τ Ο Θ Ε Α Τ Ρ Ο Ν
	Ω Λ Ε Ι Ν Ω Ξ Τ
	· Ι Ν Ε . ' Τ Ο Θ
	Ο Λ Ε Μ
10.	Ο Υ Ν Τ
	Θ Ξ

Between Ν and Α, line 5, if the first letter is *iota*, there is room for one more letter in the break.

Very little can be made out of this inscription, except *πολέμαρχ[ος]* line 4, *τὸ θέατρον* line 6, perhaps *[π]ωλεῖν ὥστ[ε]* line 7, *[πωλε]ῖν ε[ἰς] τὸ θέατρον* line 8, *[π]ολέμ[αρχος]* line 9.

Possibly the inscription has reference to the sale of some property by an officer called polemarch in the theatre, or for some use connected with the theatre.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

### EXCAVATIONS IN THE THEATRE OF ERETRIA.

At the end of January, 1891, Dr. Waldstein and I went to Eretria, and, as soon as the weather permitted, the excavation of the theatre there being placed in my charge by Dr. Waldstein, work was begun.

The foundations of the stage-building that Ludwig Ross had traced in 1833 disappeared after the settlement of the Psariani in 1836. Here and there single stones appeared above the ground, but the position of no walls could be located with certainty. The fact, however, that the ground level on the site of the stage-building was between three and four metres above that of the orchestra, supplied a hopeful sign that, at least in some parts, walls of importance would be found.

When the campaign closed on March 18, we had worked 27½ days, with an average of 19 men, including two cart-drivers. For removing the earth we relied especially on carts and wheelbarrows, as baskets proved less suitable for our purpose.

The eastern wall was cleared first, and it was a great disappointment to find that the foundation was the only course remaining; but it was reassuring soon to discover that at least the front wall went deep. When the work had reached this point it was found practicable to divide the men into two bodies. One party removed the earth from the front of the orchestra, and as far back as the middle of the stage-building. The other set cleared the southern half of the stage-building. In this way, the two parties keeping nearly the same pace, the entire structure was laid bare, proceeding from east to west. The exact correspondence between the two sides was striking, when, after weeks of labor and study, the second half was found minutely to reproduce the first, and we could hence estimate with certainty the location of the different walls (see PLAN of theatre, PLATE IV).

On February 14, while cutting a broad trench along the double front wall (OO and HH), which we shall call the *scenæ frons*, the workmen came upon an opening (Ω) in the wall about two metres wide. On following this up, it proved to have a vaulted roof in good preservation. Soon the workmen on the other side, more than fourteen metres away, struck an opening into the ground. Here the keystone and a few of the upper voussoirs were gone. Grave-searchers, with whom this region abounds, imagining that there was a grave below, had broken through the vault. The clearing of this large passage, which was entirely filled with earth and 2.95 m. deep, occupied a great deal of time. Owing to the limited space, only two men could be employed, and, from the construction, it had to be cleared almost entirely from the north end. At length, on the afternoon of March 12, the way was open from one end to the other. The earth, from the position of the strata, had evidently sifted in from the two ends. Heaps of

marble chippings lay at the northern end of the vault. But these were only the refuse of the great mass of marble that had found its way to the lime-kilns, of which there are two in the immediate neighborhood. Among these chippings were several fragments of statues and countless pieces from the marble proscenium. Immediately in front of the opening to this vaulted passage were found fragments of a balustrade in poros.

On March 5 and 6, when it became evident that no stoa was immediately connected with the theatre, on the suggestion of Dr. Waldstein I sank a trench from chamber IV in the direction of some ruins toward the southwest. Nothing was found in the trench, but upon clearing the ruins they were seen to be singularly solid foundations, 7.50 m.  $\times$  5.40 m., possibly having connection with other foundations. In the first place the ground had been prepared, then large blocks, carefully fitted, had been laid to form a double floor. No indication was found of the purpose of these foundations, but the solidity of the work suggests that a temple stood here—perhaps that of Dionysus. Along the walls were found fragments of marble including a lion's paw.

To examine the character of the retaining-wall HH on the inside, a big hole was cut along the wall down to the foundation. Along the upper part of the wall lay miscellaneous rubbish and architectural members in poros. Below, the foundation broadened to a width of 1.62 m. The retaining-wall exhibits the same roughness and irregularity on both sides, from which the conclusion is drawn that neither side was ever visible.

On March 13, while clearing between the proscenium stylobate and the *scenæ frons*, I came upon the opening to the underground passage of the orchestra. The descent into this lies a little to the east of the mouth of the vaulted passage. Over the opening were found two fragments of a marble Ionic architrave.

On March 14, two interesting discoveries were made. Resting on the *scenæ frons*, but not *in situ*, I found a poros block with a metope in the middle and a triglyph on either side. It appears to belong to a double-triglyph system, and is important for determining the intercolumniation of a row of columns that may have surmounted the *scenæ frons*. Whether this wall bore a range of columns or was continued up as a plain wall, the frieze block, both from its material and from the position in which it was found must have belonged to it. The width of the metope is 0.48 m. and that of the triglyphs 0.33 m.,

while the height is 0.44 m. The second discovery was a drain found between the oblique walls on the east side.

The digging on the *skene* varied in depth from 0.80 m. to 1.10 m., while immediately in front of the *scenæ frons* it reached the depth of 2.50 m., and even more at the east and west ends, the depth gradually diminishing toward the orchestra. The mass of accumulated earth in front of the *scenæ frons* was no doubt due to the fact that when the facing-wall had been taken away in a large measure, the weight of the

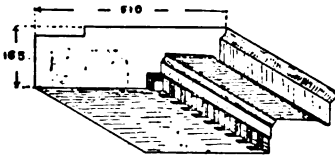


FIG. 1.—Cornice.



FIG. 2.—Anthemion.

earth behind precipitated the upper part of the retaining-wall and lodged in front. There is reason to believe that the ground on the site of the present orchestra as well as behind the retaining-wall had originally the level of the five chambers, that of the surrounding ground. On the surface we found the usual black earth, under it a soft clay, and lastly we came upon the hard virgin soil. About the older foundations the soft clay reached deeper, showing that trenches had been cut before the foundation was laid.

We found architectural fragments both of poros and of marble. Of poros in the Doric order were found several drums, a capital, triglyphs, and a cornice; also of poros, in the Ionic order, an entire semi-column, and four capi-

itals almost completely preserved, but of a late style. This semi-column now serves as a sill in the entrance to chamber II; it has eight flutes and is 2.36 m. long, 0.34 m. wide and 0.47 thick. The volutes of the capital belonging to it spring out of an acanthus the sprays of which join in front under an egg-and-dart moulding. The marble fragments were found especially in the neighborhood of the proscenium, and evidently belong to it. Of marble in the Doric order we found a part of a channeled semi-column and corresponding tri-



glyphs and cornice. In the Ionic order we found a part of a fluted semi-column, an architrave and cornices of two types, with dentils (*Fig. 1*), and without them. Two anthemia of marble (*Fig. 2*) and several of terracotta were discovered, besides Roman lamps, weights, a discus, and some corroded coins.

### THE STAGE-BUILDING OF THE THEATRE AT ERETRIA.

In dealing with masonry at Eretria there are peculiar difficulties in the way. Little is known about its monuments and style of art, and, being difficult of access it has seldom been visited by archæologists. On account of its out-of-the-way position, rules of construction which have been established as archæological landmarks at Athens and elsewhere, fail utterly when applied here. Certain forms of masonry, for example, seem to have obtained at Eretria long after they had died out in many other places. Not only the same kind of stone, but even blocks cut to the same size, appear in buildings of different epochs. At the same time when clamps and other usual criteria of age are found in those parts only which on their face bear the stamp of a later age, one is entirely thrown back upon the position of the walls to solve their purpose and place in point of date.

The *cavea* of the theatre faces the south, and the stage-buildings stand east and west, deviating only six degrees from that line, the west end being six degrees north of west, and the east end the same number of degrees south of east. The situation of the theatre to the southwest of the acropolis, on a spot where no benefit could be derived from a slope to support the rising tiers of seats, is likely to be connected with the fact that there was a sanctuary of Dionysus in the neighborhood. The solid foundations in the vicinity, mentioned above, may prove to be those of a temple of the wine-god. If in choosing the sites for their theatres the ancients had an eye to the beauty of scenery, it may be noticed that sitting in the theatre you are facing the Euripus, while beyond are the hills of Attica and Boeotia with Parnes and Helicon in the distance. The original surface of the ground appears to have been almost level, rising a little toward the northwest and falling into a slight depression toward the southeast.

From the sectional plan (PL. IV) giving the elevation of the different parts, we see how the two front walls II and ΘΘHH have their foundations a little under the level of the orchestra, while the bases and the two remoter walls BB and AA lie fully three metres higher. In explain-

ing the walls I shall follow the historical development as being at the same time the true order and in this case the simplest.

Turning to the PLAN, it appears at a glance that there exists a close resemblance in plan between the two parts of the stage-building divided by the great central passage  $\Omega\Omega$ . This vaulted passage, the bottom of which is on a level with the orchestra, lies under the floor-surface of the stage-building. Over the vault and within the south wall we have a chamber (III) 6.33 m. by 3.90 m. This is flanked on either side by chambers (II and IV) of the same size, and those again by long and narrow chambers (I and V) extending five metres and a half beyond the others toward the front. The outline (AAΓΔBBEZ) is a long and narrow building with wings projecting forward. The foundation of this building consists of coarse poros blocks averaging 1.30 m. in length, 0.68 m. in width and 0.46 m. in height. The blocks are laid lengthwise except in the south wall of chambers I and II. At this point, the ground being lower, the foundation consists of two courses, and, to obtain greater solidity, the blocks in one lie crosswise and are moreover supported by buttresses where the partition-walls meet the south wall. As the ground gradually rises toward the west, the foundations go deeper. The stones are well cut and fitted, though no great pains were taken to form an even surface in foundations intended to be hidden underground. The break in the middle of the walls is of a later date, when the vaulted passage was constructed. There are openings ( $\gamma\gamma$ ) into the flank chambers on each side. Here the foundation is interrupted for a distance of 1.30 m. The ends of the adjoining blocks are cut down as if to receive a sill. At the corner beyond the door, and also between the door and the north wall of the three chambers, are signs of piers and antæ,  $\delta\delta\delta\delta$ . Where the wall BB ends in the chambers on the flanks, the terminal blocks are placed at right angles. In line with these in the north wall of the same chambers, corresponding blocks  $eeee$  are similarly placed. These blocks may have been parts of cross-walls in these positions.

On the greater part of these foundations there remains a course of fine polygonal masonry 0.48 m. wide. The jointings are good and the work is done with a great deal of care. Wherever it is still standing it is 0.50 m. high. The material is a white, hard limestone. If there were faults in the stones or pieces roughly broken off, the edges were made regular and other stones fitted in. The polygonal wall indicated in black is still standing on all the partition walls, on

the north wall, at the southwest corner, and there are traces of it on the south and east walls. The restored portions of it are indicated in a lighter shade, with single-hatched lines. No trace appears on the foundations of the projecting chambers. No doubt it stood here also, but was removed during the reconstruction.

I have mentioned the doors into the flank chambers. There are also entrances into the three middle chambers from the front. The entrance to chamber III is in the middle of the wall, while in II and IV it is thrown to one side. The side openings are 3.33 m. and 3.38 m. wide. The middle opening is somewhat less, but here the stones have now fallen forward: we may be justified in assuming the same width for this also. On both sides of the openings lie quadrangular blocks of bluish marble. On the outer side of the side doors these blocks are 0.41 m. long and 0.20 m. high. The adjacent blocks of the wall are cut in such a way as partly to overlap the marble blocks and hold them firm. On these blocks stood the *παραστάδες* or door-jambs. In the west door the lower part of one is still standing. It is an upright poros block broken off at the present height of the wall. The existing sills, which lie at about the height of the six bases in front and are moulded, are later. At the ends of the sills, holes are cut in to receive the wooden doorposts, and a groove runs along the upper side. The inside edge, remaining at the middle for the distance of nearly one metre and a half, is cut away at the ends.

Such are the remains of what I consider the oldest stage-building of which there is any trace in the Eretrian theatre. In its main lines it has the same arrangement as the stage-building of Lycurgus at Athens: two parallel walls behind and towerlike structures on the flanks. The front wall has three doors and the *paraskenia* have one each. The present orchestra lies too far away and too deep to have been that of this stage-building. The orchestra corresponding to this structure must have been on a level with the doors and must have extended close up to the building. The supposed position of this orchestra is indicated on the plan by a dotted circle. As no vestiges remain, both the orchestra and the seats were presumably of primitive construction. Near one of the stage-walls were found a few words of a fourth-century inscription referring to a theatre.<sup>1</sup> This building being the oldest on the site, and answering also in plan to a theatre of the fourth century, we identify it with that of the inscription. There appears to be little

<sup>1</sup> See above, page 76, No. 33.

doubt that the remains we have just described existed long before the other parts were added. For, taken separately, the old stage-building has a clear purpose, but considered in connection with the buildings in front, it loses its meaning. The new buildings in part destroyed the old and in part left its foundations undisturbed, as they lay deeper than the later walls.

Whatever the causes or the motives, a new and more elaborate theatre was erected, taking the old building partly into account and retaining its orientation. The new theatre might have been built against the acropolis hill, but the same reasons that placed the old below in the plain, kept the new one there now. When it was once decided that the theatre should remain on the same site, there were evident advantages in sinking the orchestra lower than the stage-building. It would simplify the substructure of the *cavea*, and would give an elevated *scenae frons* with less labor and expense. So the orchestra was lowered about 3.50 m. and the earth removed was used to build up the *cavea*. Against the bank of earth toward the *skene* a strong retaining-wall HH was built. The floor of the new building lies a little higher than that of the old one. The old floor-level of the chambers is given by the sills, the cuts for which still appear in the foundation-walls. The new sills are several centimetres higher, and these indicate the level of the new floor. The six column-bases supply corresponding evidence. The wide intercolumniation, and the fact that they are equally distant from BB and OO, show that they form an inner order and that we can assume the same level on both sides. These bases bore the columns that upheld the roof. That they belong to the second structure is shown by the fact that they in a measure obstruct the passages  $\gamma\gamma$ , from which it also appears that they were placed in position at a time when those passages were no longer used. It is important to fix the level of the pavement, as this will help us to arrive at the height of the front wall. But having the height of the bases, 3.83 m., we have also that of the front wall, which must necessarily be the same. Whether the front wall was continued as a solid wall or whether it supported a series of columns, we have so far not been able to determine, as the architectural members found could be fitted to either theory.

Communication with the orchestra being difficult over a wall 3.83 m. high, access was afforded by an underground vault ( $\Omega\Omega$ ) passing under the *skene* from behind the building. At the southern or ex-

terior end, steps lead down to the level of the orchestra. *Fig. 3* shows a section through the vaulted passage in the line of the column-bases. On the inside the passage is 1.98 m. wide and 2.95 m. high, and its length is the depth of the stage-building, 14.55 m. It is built of large poros blocks which were originally smooth-dressed on the exposed face, but now the surface is broken and has crumbled from dampness and exposure. The blocks have an average length of 1.36 m., and the three lower courses a height of 0.64 m., while the three upper courses average 0.46 m., and the keystone 0.44 m. Though the three lower courses have an inward inclination of 0.08 m. the arch proper begins with the fourth course. Allowing the slight inclination

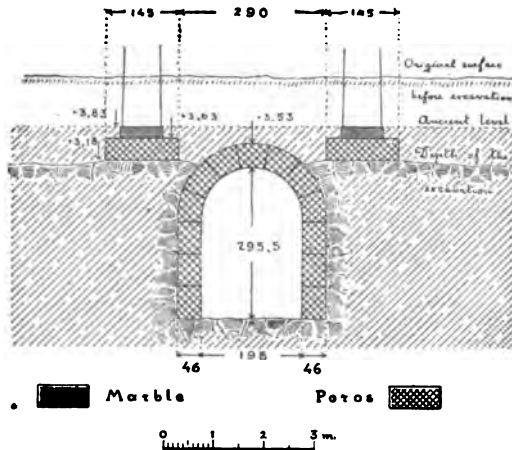


FIG. 3.—Vaulted Passage.

to be due to pressure exerted in the lapse of time, the upper courses and the keystone would form a semi-circle with a radius of about 1.00 m. The joints are exact, though they do not correspond in alternate courses. The vault is entire for a distance of 7.40 m., having fallen in at both ends. That the vault is contemporaneous with the front wall or *scenæ frons*, is shown by the fact that the courses of the two are bonded together.

That this vaulted passage was a public entrance into the theatre is improbable, both because it is too narrow and because no necessity appears for an entrance in such a situation. Though the passage itself is 1.98 m. wide, the door opening into it from the orchestra is only

0.99 m. wide. Moreover the steps are steep and narrow—not such as we should expect where crowds were to ascend and descend. On the east side a *parodos* about 5 m. wide has been partly cleared, and on the other side will no doubt be found its counterpart. With ample *parodoi* on both sides of the *skene*, no reason is obvious for constructing a third access only 0.99 m. wide. In many theatres entrances are found from the level of the orchestra to the stage-building, and here, doubtless we have something of the same kind, only the passage lies under the surface owing to the elevated structure of the stage-building. Two solutions were open to the architect: the one a permanent stairway over the front wall, the other an opening through the wall and an underground passage; the latter solution was chosen perhaps because a stairway from the height of the front wall would necessarily project far into the orchestra.

The front wall consists in fact of two walls, the retaining-wall HH and the facing-wall OO. The retaining-wall, not intended to be seen, is built of rough poros blocks of about the same dimensions as those in the foundations of the *skene*. Its present height is 2.39 m., or 2.335 m. above the level of the circle of the orchestra. That it was originally higher appears from the fact that a great number of similar blocks were found lying in a line along the wall. It may have been as high as the bases, or, being merely a retaining-wall, it could have ended when it reached the surface of the ground. The roughness of the work is sufficient proof that this wall was never visible. There still remain in places as many as three courses of a facing-wall. The lowest course, which juts out 0.19 m. beyond the upper courses, is 0.64 m. high, and where the vaulted passage begins, the blocks are turned in at right angles in such a way that the blocks of the second course of the vault overlap them by one half. This shows that the two were constructed at the same time. The blocks of this course, too, are of the same size as those in the three lower courses of the vaulted passage. At the joints and along the upper edge are bevelled drafts. While the upper courses continue 0.59 m. beyond the retaining-wall and then at OO make a turn to the south at a slight angle, the lower course turns to the north (AI and KI) 8.885 m. from the vault and is then merged in other walls (IM and IN), which, at the same distance, make a similar turn toward the south. The second course of OO is of a finer poros, and is worked with extreme care. The joints are made with such exactness that they are not easily perceived. The course is 0.43 m. high and the blocks are as long as 2.42 m. and 2.62

m. Parts of a third course remain at the ends. The length of the wall  $\Theta\Theta$  is 26.20 m. Though the upper part of this wall has perished, it must have reached at least the level of the six bases. It is to be noticed that the second course of the wall  $\Theta\Theta$  is continued without foundation between K and  $\Theta$ . At the other end, between  $\Lambda$  and  $\Theta$ , the foundation is irregular and does not come out flush with the upper portions of the wall. Before reaching the oblique angles at  $\Theta\Theta$ , the wall extends for 0.59 m. unsmoothed, and there, probably, were the outer walls,  $\Theta N$  and  $\Theta M$ , of the *paraskenia*.

In the old *paraskenia* there remain angles of walls forming right angles, which in one limb,  $\Gamma H$  and  $\Pi H$ , advance toward the front wall, and in the other,  $\tau \Sigma$  and  $\Pi O$ , extend beyond the stage-building proper. On the west side, the wall  $\tau \Sigma$  appears to have extended at least 9.50 m. from the angle in the old *paraskenion*. It is not unlikely that the wall turned toward the north at about this point and joined the oblique wall  $P\Theta$ , forming thus an irregular chamber similar to one in the same position in the theatre at Epidaurus. On the east side only two stones were found of this extension beyond the old wall, but these were enough to show that it had once gone further. These walls are laid on the ground without foundations, and are a patchwork of all kinds of material, especially of stones from the polygonal wall. The inner surface is faced with fragments of marble, and a bit of stucco was found in one place. That this wall is later than the old *skene* appears, apart from its bad construction and lack of foundation, most clearly in that it cuts away a corner of the old flank chamber, too small for a separate room. What remains of the wall between the old *paraskenia* and the front wall is built of the usual poros blocks. On the east side these blocks are laid one upon another crosswise, while on the west side the position of the blocks in adjacent courses alternates; but on both east and west sides the walls are built with an irregularity which shows that they were hidden underground. This is important, as it enables us to establish that the surface of the soil was approximately on a level with the bases, and we gain another argument for restoring the front wall  $\Theta\Theta$  to the same height. On the elevated part of the *skene* and in line with the cross-walls  $\Lambda I$  and  $K I$  stand two bases.

Within the irregular rooms at the sides, and parallel to the oblique walls, are two little structures the significance of which is not yet clear. Their parallel side walls are 0.46 m. apart, and there extended a marble slab from the outside upper edge to the inside bottom level, broad

enough to touch the two walls. The lower end of the slab rested on another marble block. Beneath the structure on the east side we found the drain; if there is a similar drain on the west side it has not yet been recognized. Our excavations closed before these structures could be fully examined. They seem however to be connected with the drainage-system. It may possibly be that the water from the roof of the stage-building was conducted to these points and hence escaped into the drains below. What may have existed between the oblique walls is not yet known, as our work has gone only a little beyond the oblique angles  $\Theta M$  and  $\Theta N$ . Here may have been ramps ascending to the proscenium, side by side with the *parodoi* into the orchestra, as at Sicyon and Epidaurus.

The work of the second period, then, consisted in erecting a new *scenæ frons* with projecting structures or *paraskenia* at the ends. Instead of a series of chambers, we have in this new stage-building a wide hall divided by a longitudinal range of columns. Owing to the height of the front wall and the disposition of the *skene* and orchestra, access to the latter was gained under the floor of the stage-structure.

Finally we come to the last change, a change similar to that found in many other theatres—the erection of a columned front (II) between the two *paraskenia*. At the Amphiareion of Oropus this feature bears inscribed on the architrave the designation *προσκήμιον*. To arrive at the date of this construction at Eretria is not easy. At Athens the corresponding feature is known to have been built between Lycurgus and Nero, as it was torn down to be replaced by another dedicated to Dionysus Eleuthereus and the emperor Claudius Nero (?). Hence there it dates from the first century B. C., and the stage-building of Lycurgus must have stood for a considerable time unchanged. This date suits reasonably well in the other instances also. On a poros foundation lies a marble stylobate 19.77 m. long. At the ends are places for two antæ, and between are dowel-holes for twelve semi-columns. The total number fourteen recurs in several theatres, as at Assos and Delos. Across some of the dowel-holes can still be traced the small line marking the axis of the columns. The intercolumniation varies between 1.50 m. and 1.52 m. The square dowel-holes have the usual channels through which the lead was run in. A fragment of one of the columns, Doric and channeled, was found, but unfortunately very incomplete. The general design, however, can be determined from the examples in other theatres. Deep rebates were



cut behind to receive slabs or *πίνακες*, and the stylobate in some places was cut down so that the *πίνακες* should fit closely. The width of the stylobate is about 0.45 m., the inner side being rough. In the middle are traces of a double folding-door with oblong holes for the door-posts and circular ones for the pivots. Two smaller pivot-holes further back point to a wider door of some other period. Now in estimating the height of this proscenium we must remember that there was a door in the wall, which indicates sufficiently that the columns were at least upward of two metres high. Calculating the height of the columns and entablature from the few fragments found, it appears that the proscenium without the stylobate would reach a height of about 3.40 m., or the level of the bases on the *skene*. This height coincides with the rule of Vitruvius that the proscenium should not be less than ten and not more than twelve feet high. Vitruvius is evidently speaking of such proscenia as ours, and it is interesting to find this agreement. Among various pieces of an Ionic cornice, we found one with an angle corresponding to the angles M and N beyond the proscenium. So we have, apparently, a Doric proscenium continued on the sides in the Ionic order.

The fact that the stylobate was left rough on the inside shows that the ground or floor between it and the *scenæ frons* was of the same height. But the opening into the underground passage here lies much lower, and it appears to have been made with a lower level in view. The basement-course of the *scenæ frons* consisted, as has been said, of blocks 0.64 m. high, carefully worked and fitted, showing that it was exposed to view. But, if the floor reached the level of the proscenium stylobate, it must have covered 0.44 m., or more than two thirds, of this basement-course. In excavating we found near the lower edge of this basement a layer of gravel. This, as it corresponds with the level of the orchestra-circle and with the opening into the underground passage, I take to show the original level of the orchestra. With the building of the proscenium the level of the entire orchestra appears to have been raised. The stylobate is 0.20 m. high, the lower half of which was left rough and unfinished because it lay under the level of the orchestra and was not seen.

Where definite indications were lacking, the upper part of the *skene* is restored, on the plan, according to the proportions of similar structures.

Just beyond the eastern *paraskenion* the drain is found. Starting from the semicircular conduit on the east side and passing under the

*parodos*, it turns by the corner of the stage-building at an oblique angle to the southeast, in the direction where the ground is lowest. It is formed of rectangular pieces of red tile open above (*Fig. 4*), not fitted into one another, but set close end to end and bedded in the ground. The tiles are 0.63 m. long, 0.24 m. broad, and 0.265 high. The drain was covered with separate flat pieces a little wider than itself. The tiles are 0.03 m. thick.

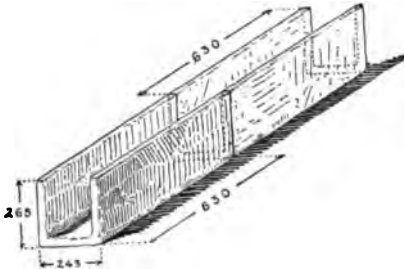


FIG. 4.—*Drain.*

In closing, I would observe that I came independently to the results set forth while directing the excavation of the theatre. It was no small delight to find, on my return to Athens, that Dr. Dörpfeld approved of the plans which I had drawn, and later, when he

visited the theatre, that he corroborated my views, making changes only in minor details. At the same time I must not omit to mention the kindly assistance Dr. Dörpfeld has rendered me in several instances, and the friendly interest he has taken in the work.

ANDREW FOSSUM.

### THE THEATRE AT ERETRIA: ORCHESTRA AND CAVEA.

In the work of the School at Athens at Eretria, Dr. Waldstein assigned to me the clearing of the *cavea*, orchestra, and *parodoi* of the theatre. This was pursued so far as to determine the level and extent of the orchestra, to follow the lowest row of seats and the bounding-curb of the orchestra from the middle to the eastern *analemma*, and to define, rather imperfectly, the eastern *parodos*. To this must be added the discovery of a most interesting underground passage, extending from about the centre of the orchestra to a point just within the later proscenium-wall. At Dr. Waldstein's suggestion, excavation was carried on also through the debris surrounding a lime-kiln near the theatre, but without result.

Work in the orchestra was begun on Feb. 24, with a trench a little more than 1 m. wide, perpendicular to the proscenium at its middle point. Very few fragments were found either in marble or in poros, until, on the second day, at a depth of about 0.70 m., two large poros

blocks came to light lying side by side at a slight angle in the direction of the trench. On digging further toward the stage, it was found that these two blocks made part of an unbroken line of poros, the covering, as it seemed, of a drain or passage of some kind. These stones were carefully laid and the whole structure was very well preserved. Only the corners were sometimes broken away, so that, at one point, the workmen could thrust their pick-handles through and down to the full length. Almost covering the open end of this passage was found a cornice-slab of marble; close by, fragments of marble triglyphs and dentils. When all these were cleared away the existence of a subterranean structure was made certain.

The work at the upper end of this main trench was carried considerably further before anything of importance was discovered. Only one or two blocks of poros and some small pieces of marble came to light. At length the workmen uncovered, at a depth of 1.05 m., what proved to be one of the seats of the lowest tier of the *cavea*. Very soon the line of poros curb bounding the arc of the orchestra was found, 0.20 m. further below the surface. Immediately below the first tier of seats was a broad step serving as a foot-rest for those who sat above, and between this and the curb was a sunken drain paved with poros. Just behind the first seat discovered was a flat, irregular marble slab of considerable size. Toward the west the line of seats was broken, and in digging further up the hill nothing more was found *in situ*. The *cavea*, here at least, was in an altogether ruinous condition, so that the main trench at this end was abandoned. At Dr. Waldstein's suggestion, the digging was now carried along the line of the first row of seats toward the east. A trench was sunk broad enough to include also the curb of the orchestra. All was in a fairly good state of preservation, only a block from the line of seats being missing now and then. A number of marble fragments were found, evidently belonging to thrones. The sunken drain proved to be divided at intervals by very ill-made and irregular cross-walls, resting on the poros bottom, and not quite reaching the level of the curb and the lowest step on either side. The end of the curb was reached some 5 m. before coming to the *analemma* of the *cavea*. At this point the curb was connected with the lowest step by a very good cross-wall of the same pattern and period with itself. Digging was carried for a short distance along the *analemma*; this was very much broken away, and the blocks which made it were heaped together with seats that had fallen from above. The wall of the *parodos*, so far as it was found extant at all, was yet more ruinous. I had

hoped to carry a trench from the orchestra to the uppermost rows of seats, but lack of time prevented this.

Meanwhile, the subterranean passage mentioned had been entirely cleared. The work had been necessarily slow, since in so confined a space only one man could dig at a time, and very awkwardly. Besides, the interior was a closely packed mass of architectural fragments, as drums of columns, with pottery, Roman lamps and other objects. A discovery of importance was made near the north end of this passage. Here the digging was carried more than 1 m. below the ancient level of the orchestra. At this depth part of a marble chair was found, imbedded among loose stones and smaller bits of marble; there was found also a rounded fragment of poros, belonging to the base either of a column or of a statue.

#### THE CAVEA.

In 1833, according to Ross,<sup>1</sup> some of the stone seats of the *cavea* were still to be seen. He seems to imply that when he visited Eretria eight years later these had disappeared, appropriated by the new settlers as building-material. When our work began, at least two or three seats of the ordinary pattern lay above ground on the upper part of the slope. Nothing whatever was visible besides these, though the general form of the *cavea* was still very clearly marked. The seats were not laid on a natural slope, as is generally the case, but were supported by an artificial mound of earth as noted by Ross (*op. cit.*) This method of construction was rare in Greece proper, but obtained in the theatre at Mantinea, lately excavated by the French School.<sup>2</sup> Durm<sup>3</sup> mentions only the theatres at Alabanda (Asia Minor) and Mantinea as so constructed. More are enumerated by Müller,<sup>4</sup> but only in Macedonia and Asia Minor. Recently it has been found that the theatre at Megalopolis rested in part upon an artificial embankment.<sup>5</sup> The embankment at Mantinea was supported by a polygonal wall, and the theatre was made accessible from the rear by a system of external flights of steps; but no attempt could be made to ascertain whether this was also true at Eretria. The *cavea* opens toward the south in direct violation of Vitruvius' injunction;<sup>6</sup> this is the case also at Athens and Syracuse.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Wanderungen in Griechenland*, II, 117.

<sup>2</sup> *Baukunst der Griechen*, 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XI, 294.

<sup>7</sup> GEPFERT, *Altgriechische Bühne*, 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. de corr. hellén.*, XIV, 248.

<sup>4</sup> *Bühnenallerthümer*, 30, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *De Architectura*, v. 3. 2.

At present the greatest height of the *cavea* above the orchestra-curb is 9.07 m.;<sup>8</sup> its diameter measured from the highest point of the mound on either side is 81 m.; measured from the lowest step on either side, 24.88 m. The structure forms an arc of  $186^\circ$ , or somewhat more than a half-circle, and is thus less by  $24^\circ$  than Vitruvius' fanciful model for Greek theatres. The curve seems a perfect one through an arc of  $159^\circ$ , *i. e.*, to the point where the curb terminates. It is then continued on a straight line, tangent to the arc at that point. This was a device often employed in Greek theatres<sup>9</sup> for the sake of the view of those who occupied the end seats. At Epidaurus<sup>10</sup> the same purpose was accomplished by the use of a different centre and radius, thus making the inward curve at the wings less abrupt. The *analemma* uncovered is of the same poros stone used for the seats and throughout in the whole structure. The wall follows the upward inclination of the *cavea* and is 0.62 m. thick at the bottom, narrowing to 0.57 m. at the highest point reached in the digging. At its lower end the base of a stele was discovered, lying in a line with the lowest step of the *cavea* and so at an obtuse angle to the *analemma*. It is rectangular, 1.14 m. in length and 0.62 m. in width. The hole sunk in the upper face to receive the stele is 0.79 m. long, 0.135 m. wide, and 0.12 m. deep. Doubtless the stele bore an inscription relating to the building or rebuilding of the theatre. The lines of the *analemmata*, if prolonged, would meet in an obtuse angle at a point between the centre of the orchestra and the proscenium—another characteristic of the normal Greek theatre. The width of the east *parodos* is about 5 m. The proscenium in its prolongation toward the east bends away slightly, as at Epidaurus and Oropus. But we could not make sure whether this prolonged line was parallel with the *analemma*, or whether, as is most frequently the case, the inclination was such that the *parodos* became wider as it approached the orchestra. Neither was it possible to determine whether the *parodos* was closed by a door or doors, such as were found at Oropus, Sicyon and Epidaurus.<sup>11</sup>

The *cavea* is divided into eleven *cunei* ("wedges") by twelve flights of steps. This statement is founded on computation, for only

<sup>8</sup> I am glad to acknowledge my indebtedness, for many of these measurements and for helpful suggestions, to Mr. John Pickard of the American School.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the theatre at Athens; for that at Piræus, see CURTIUS and KAUFERT, *Karten von Attika*, text, I, p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> *Практика* for 1883, 47.

<sup>11</sup> *Практика* for 1883, 48; for 1886, 53.

three of these flights of steps were definitely located. According to Vitruvius,<sup>12</sup> the *cunei* should be seven and the stairways eight in number. But in Greece proper this rule is observed only at Mantinea. At Argos and Thoricus we find only three *cunei*. The number is generally greater than that given by Vitruvius.<sup>13</sup> The eastern *analemma* is immediately adjoined by steps; this must have been the case at the other extremity of the *cavea* also. Such an arrangement is indeed almost universal. The *cavea* was not divided through the middle line by a line of steps, nor is it at Athens and at Sicyon. This division, despite Vitruvius, was, of course, a quite accidental matter, depending upon the number of *cunei*, whether even or odd. The stairway next the *analemma* is 0.72 m. in breadth at the bottom, narrowing with the second step to 0.68 m. Beyond this no exact measurement could be taken on account of the ruinous condition of the remains. The breadth corresponded approximately to that found in the theatres at Athens (0.70 m.), Epidaurus (0.74 m.) and Thoricus (0.62 m.). It is considerably exceeded, however, in the steps of the the following flight, which measure 0.94 m., corresponding nearly to the 0.90 m. of the Piræus theatre. This increased breadth is natural for the interior, where every stairway gave access to two *cunei* instead of one. The height of the steps varied between 0.145 m. and 0.16 m.; to this must be added a decided upward slope from front to back. So far as could be seen, the level of seats and that of adjoining steps correspond only occasionally, the added height of four steps amounting to that of three rows of seats. This, I think, is quite exceptional. It is an almost invariable rule that every second step reaches the level of the adjoining seat. Only in the theatre at Athens does a single step, inclining upward from front to back, suffice for every row of seats.

The seats themselves vary greatly in dimensions. Those above ground on the upper part of the slope are 0.39 m. in breadth and 0.54 m. in height; those in the lowest row have, as a rule, the same breadth—sometimes 0.05 m. to 0.08 m. greater,—but are only 0.32 m. in height. In profile, there are only slight differences in measurement, not affecting the general pattern. This is a usual one for theatre-seats, and consists of a plane vertical surface reaching 1.05 m. below the upper surface and continued down to the bottom of the seat

<sup>12</sup> V. 6.2.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Athens, Epidaurus, Sicyon, Piræus.

in a *cyma reversa* curve forming a hollow. The concave surface at its deepest point is distant 0.105 m. from a vertical line let fall from the upper outer edge of the seat. The seats are set level, and have a slightly raised band, 0.09 m. to 0.13 m. wide, running along the outer edge. The small breadth of the seats is, so far as I can find, quite unprecedented. Vitruvius' maximum and minimum are 0.7392 m. and 0.5914 m.,<sup>14</sup> and his maximum is most often exceeded. In the theatre of Thoricus, which is very irregular, the average breadth is 0.60 m.;<sup>15</sup> at Athens, it is 0.782 m., at Epidaurus 0.78 m., at Sicyon 0.75 m. to 0.85 m., at Piraeus 0.91 m. But it is to be noted that in all these theatres, except at Thoricus, only a small part of the breadth served as the actual seat; behind, the stone was hollowed to receive the feet of those on the next step above. The front part or seat proper is 0.332 m. wide at Athens, 0.35 m. at Epidaurus, Sicyon and Piraeus. These latter measurements harmonized better with the seat-breadth in the Eretrian theatre, and appeared to suggest that here the whole surface of the seat was given up to the actual occupant. Such was proved to be the case by further excavation. The seats are not so placed that one rests upon or touches the next, but are distant from one another radially 0.35 m. The intervening space, left for the feet of those who occupied the higher seat, is simply earth. Doubtless its level was below that of the seat in front, just as in theatres where one stone served as both seat and foot-rest. A *cavea* so constructed would be much less secure than if every row were supported immediately by the one below it; so that this detail of construction may account in a measure for the very imperfect preservation of the whole.

As to the difference in height (0.22 m.) of the upper and the lower seats, it may be remarked that, as the former were entirely above ground, a more exact measurement was possible. When the stone was set, some part of this excess of height would disappear, but surely not the whole. In fact, the entire height of one seat in the second row, whose lower edge seemed to have been reached, was only 0.42 m.; this would mean that the stone was sunk to a depth of 0.10 m. below the surface. In comparing the 0.32 m. of the lower rows with the seats of other theatres, we find: at Athens, 0.32 m.; at Epidaurus, 0.34 m.; at Sicyon, 0.35 m.; at Piraeus, 0.32 m.; at Thoricus, 0.35 m. Here, then,

<sup>14</sup>MÜLLER, *Bühnenalterthümer*, 31.

<sup>15</sup>*Papers of American School*, IV, 9.

is a comparatively exact correspondence, all the figures being below Vitruvius' minimum of 0.3696 m. Seats so low could hardly have been very comfortable; and, for the theatre at Athens, Dörpfeld assumes that the height was increased by the use of cushions. The same opinion is expressed by Kabbadias in his report of the excavations at Epidaurus.<sup>16</sup> But it is interesting to find that at Epidaurus the seats above the *diazoma* reach a height of 0.43 m. If at Eretria the upper seats also were set down in the earth to a depth of 0.10 m., the actual height remaining would be 0.44 m., or almost exactly the same as that in the great theatre of Polycletus. The inference would seem to be that the theatre at Eretria was divided by a *diazoma*, as would be expected *a priori*. The marble slab before referred to, discovered just behind the first row of seats, may have made part of the back revetment of the *diazoma*. It is 1.62 m. long, 0.795 m. wide, and 0.185 m. thick; near one corner on the short side is a hole for the insertion of a clamp that joined it to its neighbor. The *diazoma* was not infrequently revetted at the back with such plates of marble.<sup>17</sup> Only further excavation, however, can make this point certain. Finally, beneath the lowest tier of seats was a single step, 0.77 m. wide, and rising gradually from front to back; immediately adjoining, 0.38 m. lower, is the broad drain skirting the orchestra.

#### THE ORCHESTRA.

The diameter of the orchestra, measured to the poros curb which skirts it, is 20.28 m.; to the lowest step of the *cavea*, 24.88 m. It is larger than that of the theatres at Piræus (16.50 m.), Sicyon (about 20 m.), and Mantinea (21.70 m.); larger even than that of those at Athens (22.50 m.) and Epidaurus (24.50 m.),—though in the last two theatres the size of the *cavea* is very much greater than at Eretria. The ratio of orchestra diameter to *cavea* diameter in the Eretrian theatre is an unusually large one. The orchestra was certainly unpaved. As late as 1886, Müller<sup>18</sup> writes of the orchestra surface as *Fast ohne Aufnahme gepflastert*; he cites as exceptions only the odeum at Cnidus and the theatre at Epidaurus. But in the theatres at Piræus, Oropus, Sicyon, Thoricus, Mantinea and Megalopolis, the orchestra surface has been found to consist merely of beaten earth. Kabbadias<sup>19</sup> in his

<sup>16</sup> Πρακτικά for 1881, Παράρτημα, 17.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the theatre at Sicyon, in *Papers of American School*, v, p. 11.

<sup>18</sup> *Bühnenalterthümer*, 37.

<sup>19</sup> Πρακτικά for 1881, Παράρτημα, 19.



report of the work at Epidaurus concludes that paving was not in use in the best times. The pavement of the orchestra at Athens, for example, is certainly of Roman date. Perhaps the converse of Kabbadias' proposition will not hold: that the lack of paving implies an early time; but it may at least be regarded as an indication. The orchestra was in part bounded by the line of curb already often referred to. This consists of large blocks of poros, bearing a slight projecting moulding on the outer (next the *cavea*) side. It is 0.42 m. in breadth and rises 0.395 m. from the drain or gutter outside it; thus it is nearly on a level with the lowest step on the other side of the drain. It rises very slightly from the middle toward the extremities, the resulting difference of level amounting to 0.067 m. On the outer side the curve is perfect; inside the blocks are not cut to the curve but are left straight. This makes it certain that the orchestra surface was at least as high as the level of the curb. The upper surface of the stylobate of the proscenium-wall is 0.38 m. above the curb, and it is this stylobate which we might expect to determine approximately the level of the orchestra, which, if just high enough to conceal the lower edge of the stylobate, would be about 0.25 m. above the surrounding curb. The joinings of the curb are everywhere perfect, and the workmanship good. It extends through an arc of  $159^\circ$ , thus falling short of the angular measurement of the *cavea* by  $27^\circ$ . Therefore, for a distance of 5.35 m. at each end, the lowest step of the *cavea* immediately adjoins the earthen surface of the orchestra. At a distance of 1.62 m. from its extremities the curb narrows abruptly (at the jointing of two stones) to a breadth of 0.25 m. The narrowing is all on the inner side; the moulding and the curve on the outside continue unbroken. Finally, it is joined with the lowest step of the *cavea* by a radial cross-wall of the same pattern, 0.29 m. in width.

The sunken drain or passage left between the curb and the lowest step is 1.88 m. wide at the middle, increasing very gradually to 1.90–1.91 m. at the eastern extremity; it is well paved throughout with poros. That it served as a drain was made sure by the discovery, outside the cross-wall, of a conduit of pottery. This was very small (0.235 m. wide, 0.15 m. deep), and consisted of a flat plate bent to form a rectangular prism; it was open above and lay somewhat below the level of the *cavea*-drain. A hole was discovered piercing the cross-wall at the bottom, through which water might pass into the outer conduit. This conduit extended toward and under the stage-structure, bending

gradually toward the east. This whole plan and arrangement is closely similar to what was found at Epidaurus. At Athens the orchestra is surrounded by a drain, which is, however, much narrower (0.90 m.) and deeper; so that bridges were necessary in the line of every stairway. The same narrow and deep canal with a succession of bridges, is found at Sicyon and at Piraeus; at Megalopolis its dimensions are about the same, but the bridges, if there ever were any, have disappeared. In every case the drain is carried on in some way under the stage-structure. At Epidaurus, the narrow gutter is replaced by a broad and shallow paved passage, very nearly corresponding in its measurements to that at Eretria. A curb with similar moulding bounds it on the inside, and at about the extremities of a diameter parallel to the proscenium are cross-blocks uniting the curb with the lowest step of the *cavea*. These are pierced each by two apertures affording an outlet into a subterranean drain which runs away under the stage-structure. At Epidaurus, however, the circle of the curb is made complete instead of being interrupted at the cross-walls. As Kabbadias suggests,<sup>20</sup> Polycleetus' great work might well have served as a model to later designers. The theatre at Aegina, according to Pausanias,<sup>21</sup> resembled it in size and structure.

I have already noted the existence of three ill made and ruinous cross-walls in this drain. The first lies about 0.50 m. to the east of the middle point of the curb, is 1.60 m. long, 0.37-40 m. wide, and 0.35 m. high. Space enough is left between each end and the adjoining side-wall of the drain, for water to pass freely. The second, 5 m. further toward the east, is of about the same length and height, but slightly wider. The third, lying 3.65 m. from the second and 3.90 m. from the cross-curb at the end, extends but half-way across the drain, and is very much wider (0.85 m.) than the other two. My first thought was that the cross-walls had served to support bridges corresponding to the stairways. But they lie at such irregular intervals that this could hardly have been the case (the distance between adjacent stairways along the lowest tier of seats is 3.29 m.); and in any event bridges so short would not have needed a continuous support. It seems most reasonable to suppose that the drain was in later times completely covered, and that the cross-walls made the foundation for such covering. They appear to be late, and from their height would be very well suited to

<sup>20</sup> Πρακτικά for 1881, Παράρτημα, 29.

<sup>21</sup> II. 29, 11.

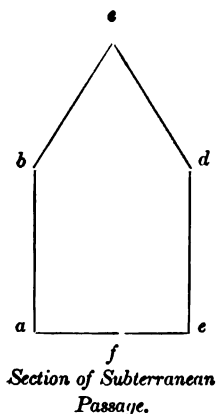
the object suggested. The reason of this covering may have been to obtain space for a row of marble chairs or thrones. If the chairs were not here, they could have had no other place except within the orchestra itself, where they are found at Oropus, just across the Euripus from Eretria, but, I think, nowhere else in Greece. The two theatres might very well have been similar in this respect. The fragments of thrones which were found seem to shed light on the matter. All along the course of the drain were unearthened large and small pieces of marble which certainly belonged to thrones. Finally, at the east end, the back of a throne was found entire, lying on the poros pavement of the drain. It corresponded in style and measurement to the smaller fragments. In addition, we discovered, as already noted, near the centre of the orchestra, at the north end of the subterranean passage, the arm of a marble chair, lying about 1 m. below the ancient level of the orchestra. It differed entirely from all the rest in dimensions and pattern. Mr. Leonardos, the superintending Ephor at Eretria, judged it of earlier and better work than the more numerous fragments. It may have belonged to a period earlier than the construction of the underground passage, and at this earlier time the thrones may have stood within the orchestra, as at Oropus. In the construction of the passage a deep trench must have been sunk and naturally prolonged somewhat beyond its northern extremity; in the hole thus left this fragment of a throne might well have been buried together with other debris from the old structure. I should ascribe the later thrones to the period of rebuilding thus indicated; these might then have been placed over the drain which was covered to receive them. But all this is a matter of conjecture from very incomplete data.

The arc of the orchestra, if taken at the poros curb inside the drain, just cuts the line of the later proscenium, but falls short of the heavy front-wall of the older stage-structure. The curve of the lowest step, if prolonged, cuts the earlier wall as well. This latter circle is the basis of Vitruvius' plan; and in this respect the theatre at Eretria, like many others, chances to accord with the Roman architect's theory.

#### THE UNDERGROUND PASSAGE.

The position and direction of the underground passage have already been described. Its total length is 13.09 m.; breadth at the bottom (*a-e* in section) 0.89 m.; height (*e-f*) exactly 2. m. It is formed of two tiers of very large blocks carefully fitted together, no one of

them varying in length so much as 0.05 m. from 1 m. The stones of the lower course are set vertically and are 1.10 m. high (*a-b, e-d*). With the second course (*b-c, d-e*), the two side walls come together, making an angle at the top of  $60^\circ$ . There is no cap-stone, and nothing of the arch-construction; the stones rest against each other merely by the contact of their inner uppermost edges, and the outer edges, which might otherwise project above the level of the orchestra, are cut away so as to lie just beneath the old surface. The passage is covered in this way along 11.03 m. of its entire length. At both ends the last stone of the upper course on each side rises vertically, instead of sloping to meet its fellow. These stones vary slightly in dimensions. All are 0.85 m. in height; but, at the north end of the passage, the block on the east side is 1.07 long, its opposite 0.99 m., and at the stage end, the one to the east is 1.03 m., that to the west 1.08 m. long. These differences are scarcely noticeable except on actual measurement. At the north end every stone is 0.15 m. wide at the top; at the stage end the total width is 0.33 m., but on the inside there is a sunken ledge 0.05 m. deep and 0.15 m. wide. This disposition was evidently planned to receive a trapdoor which should cover the opening. At the north end there is a suggestion of an intended covering in two small cavities corresponding to each other in the last two stones that are joined to roof the passage; but it is difficult to see just how these cavities could have contributed to the purpose in question.



Thus was afforded entrance to the passage at the centre of the orchestra and just behind the proscenium. It was facilitated by steps constructed in a noteworthy and unusual manner. At either end a huge block of poros was set in, resting on the same level as the side stones of the lower course, and corresponding to them in height. It was so wide that its middle portion could be cut into steps equal in breadth to the passage, while the side portions thus left standing free bounded the continuation of the passage in the line of the regular blocks of the lower course. This block furnished three steps. Upon it and between the vertical side stones of the upper course, which form the opening, was placed another huge block, which was cut out in three more steps in the same way. Thus a stairway was formed

extending from the upper outer corner of the vertical side stones to the bottom of the passage. At the stage end all these six steps are perfectly preserved; at the north end only the lower block, with its three steps, remains. The missing portion, however, may easily be restored. The line of inclination of the lower steps, prolonged by the length of a second block, exactly reaches the corresponding corner of the upper side stones. It is, of course, possible that the missing steps may have been of wood, or for some reason may not have been necessary at all. The steps at the stage end are 0.83 m. long; at the north end 0.87 m.; in both cases 0.12 m. less than the width of the blocks in which they are cut. A ledge 0.06 m. wide is thus left on both sides of the steps. The steps are 0.17 m. wide and 0.27 m. high. The lowest is about 0.50 m. above the original soil which formed the floor of the passage. No trace was discovered of paving. At each entrance the lower exterior edges of the slanting roof-blocks are splayed to afford easier entrance. The passage is now lighted by a vesica-shaped aperture in the roof, 1.24 m. long and 0.35 m. wide, distant from the north end 3.34 m. I do not feel sure that this is not an accidental breaking away; but the roofing seems too firm at every other point to make this probable. No mortar was used in the construction of the passage, and the workmanship throughout is excellent. I owe to Dr. Dörpfeld the judgment that the whole is Greek and belongs to a good period.

What, then, was the purpose of this passage? If it had been a drain, it would surely have extended further, under and beyond the stage-structure; moreover, it is very much larger than a drain need have been. It is thus clear that its object was to make a way by which passage could be had unseen from behind the proscenium to the centre of the orchestra, or *vice versa*. It would thus supply the means for chorus or actors to appear suddenly in view of the audience in the orchestra, or to disappear just as suddenly. The notion that the passage was ever used by the chorus, may be dismissed. One of the most essential purposes of the *parodoi* was to furnish for the chorus an entrance to the orchestra. The effect produced by their appearance one by one from below would have been ridiculous. Extant plays and *scholia* afford abundant evidence to prove the impossibility of such a conception. The purpose of the passage, then, was to allow the actors to pass between the orchestra and their dressing-rooms in the rear of the proscenium. After his appearance, the actor may have kept his place in the orchestra or ascended a raised stage such as Vitruvius describes.



An important fact to be noted is that such a passage could have been employed only in particular cases. An actor who is represented as coming from palace or city or some foreign land could not possibly appear before the audience as if rising suddenly from the depths of the earth. Such an apparition must actually be a being from the lower world, imagined as returning to the light of day. The manner of entrance would be so clearly seen by the audience and would be so notable that it must at once suggest such an apparition. The device can have had no cause for existence, if it was not to contribute to what we call stage-effect, to heighten illusion; but illusion would have been utterly lost if an actor who came to herald the return of a king from Troy had been seen emerging from the earth.

Extant tragedy furnishes examples of such appearances. In the *Persians* of Aeschylus, the chorus is urged by Atossa (v. 619, *seq.*) to call up the spirit of Darius. The chorus then accompany her libations with a long hymn of supplication to Darius and to the powers of the lower world (vv. 621-671). In v. 656, the King is implored: *ἰκοῦ τόνδ' ἐπ' ἄκρον κόρυμβον δχθου*. Darius appears. He first addresses the chorus, telling them how he has seen Atossa *τάφου πέλας* (v. 675), and has received her libations, and he further bids the chorus: *ὑμεῖς δὲ θρηνεῖτ' ἐγγυὸς ἐστῶτες τάφου* (v. 677). They have just called on him to rise above the mound that covers his tomb; now he finds them standing close by the tomb. He must appear therefore in the midst of them, and surely from below. The difficulty of placing the tomb upon the stage and grouping the chorus there instead of in the orchestra has always been evident. Such a passageway as that at Eretria would enable the actor who personated Darius to make his appearance much more naturally, from beneath the actual surface of the earth and in the midst of the chorus.

If we are to believe that actors as well as chorus had their places in the orchestra, the final catastrophe of the *Prometheus Bound* may have represented the disappearance of Prometheus and the Oceanides beneath its surface. They must, from the play, have shared the same fate, and together, whether in orchestra or on a stage. At Eretria the entrance to the passage is so small that its use by so large a group would certainly present great difficulties. It is possible also that in Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, and Euripides' *Cyclops*, the passageway may have served as the cave which made part of the scene. This, however, may well be deemed doubtful, and the best evidence is furnished by

the first two plays cited. The *steps of Charon* mentioned by Pollux (IV. 132) have appeared to us clearly for the first time at Eretria. Pollux's description of this part of the scenic adjuncts runs as follows: *αἱ δὲ χαρώνειοι κλίμακες, κατὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐδωλίων καθόδους κείμεναι, τὰ εἶδωλα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀναπέμπουσιν*. This gives but a confused notion of the position of the steps, and various opinions have been held on this point. But if we are to accept Pollux at all, and his is our only authority on the matter, these steps could surely have had no connection with a stage. The meaning of *κατὰ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἐδωλίων καθόδους* is obscure, but seems as well suited to the situation of the steps in the Eretrian orchestra as to any other point in the orchestra. It is interesting to find Müller<sup>22</sup> supporting his view, that the steps in question led up to the stage through some sort of trapdoor, with the words: *Man beachte auch, dass die Orchestra im griechischen Theater keine unterirdischen Gewölbe hatte wie sie sich im römischen Amphitheater finden*. Wilamowitz<sup>23</sup> seems almost to anticipate the discovery made at Eretria. Discussing the *Persians*, he writes: *Es ist mitten auf dem Tanzplatz eine Bühne, Estrade ist dem Deutschen wohl deutlicher, deren Stufen zu anfang die Sitze des Rathhauses, weiterhin die Stufen des Grabmonumentes vorstellen: aus ihr kommt Dareios hervor; der Schauspieler der als Bote bis 514 sprach, hat also Zeit und Gelegenheit gehabt, sich bis 687 umzukleiden und unter die Estrade zu gelangen: wie das geschieht ist nicht überliefert, und der Philologe kann sich das nicht reconstruiren*.

A further question involves the relation between these steps and the *ἀναπίεσματα*. Pollux says of the latter (IV. 132): *τὸ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ ὡς ποταμὸν ἀνελθεῖν ἢ τοιοῦτόν τι πρόσωπον, τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς, ἀφ' ὧν ἀνέβαινον ἐρινύες*. Perhaps the *ἀναβαθμοί* are identical with the *steps of Charon*, and with the steps found at Eretria; the Erinyes, as beings of the lower world, would naturally ascend in such a way. The *ἀναπίεσματα* proper may then have involved only some additional machinery to be used in connection with the steps and passage.

If the underground passage at Eretria did serve the purpose described, it would be most natural to expect something similar in other theatres. Mr. Penrose<sup>24</sup> has suggested that the drain-canal in the theatre in

<sup>22</sup> *Bühnenalterthümer*, 150, n. 4.

<sup>23</sup> *Die Bühne des Aischylos, Hermes*, XXI, 608.

<sup>24</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, VIII, 272.

Athens may have been used also as a concealed way from one side of the stage to the other ; but, even if this were possible, the case would hardly be a parallel one. Clearer evidence however has recently come to light. Shortly after our work at Eretria was finished, news came that the Germans had made a similar discovery at Magnesia. The passage there, Dr. Dörpfeld informs me, has about the same extent and direction as ours, except that at the orchestra end it branches at right angles in both directions, thus taking the form of the letter T. At Magnesia, however, no steps have been discovered, and the opening into the orchestra is barely large enough for a man to pass. At Tralles, also, there is a less perfect example. But both these passages, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks, are of Roman construction. He tells me, too, that the excavations at present in progress at the theatre of Argos have disclosed what seems to be something of like nature. More important than all these, however, is the evidence afforded by the theatre at Sicyon, where some supplemental excavations have been made during the past summer by Dr. M. L. Earle, a former member of the American School, who superintended the investigations at Sicyon in 1887.<sup>25</sup> Dr. Earle's report may be found above pp. 1-9; but I may touch briefly on the point most interesting in this relation. This is the stairway, in the theatre at Sicyon, which leads down into the subterranean passage just behind the late proscenium. The stairway seems to belong to the same period as the passage, which appears to be of Hellenic work. At the orchestra end there are no steps ; but here the passage widens out so as to make a much more spacious entrance than at Eretria. These two facts taken together with the great height of the passage, which would be unnecessary for a mere drain, go to prove that the purpose of the passage was the same as at Eretria. In all probability it served also as a drain ; but the two uses are not incompatible. It is certainly noteworthy that such closely similar discoveries have been made in theatres so far apart as the sites in Peloponnesus and in Euboea. With the progress of excavation in all parts of Greece and in Greek lands, further light may be expected with confidence.

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*American School of Classical Studies,*  
Athens, October, 1891.

<sup>25</sup> *Papers of American School*, v, p. 20.



## EXCAVATIONS AT ERETRIA IN 1891.

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### A TOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF ERETRIA.<sup>1</sup>

[PLATES V-X (MAP).]

#### INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

In presenting Mr. Pickard's report on the topographical portion of our work at Eretria during the campaign of 1891, I need hardly dwell upon the importance which such careful and sober study of the extant remains of the city has for the settlement of disputed points of topography and history. The final answer to the question as to the site of the early and the later Eretria and the relation which they held to each other, which has recently entered a new phase, can be given only as a result of such careful study of the archæological remains surviving.

Perhaps the only piece of work which still remains to be done in this respect is the investigation of the site of Batheia in connection with some "exploring excavation," which the School may hope to carry out during the season of 1892.

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CHAS. WALDSTEIN,  
*Director.*

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Eretria lies nearly north from Athens on the western coast of the island of Euboea, some 4½ hours ride from Chalcis. It is reached

<sup>1</sup> In the following pages, no attempt is made to show the historical bearing of the facts presented.

Mr. John W. Gilbert is responsible for all the chain-measurements. The exceedingly rough and bushy nature of a portion of the ground surveyed rendered this work at times very troublesome. The acknowledgments of the writer are also due to Mr. Gilbert as well as to Dr. Waldstein, Professor Richardson, and Mr. C. S. Brownson for many suggestions, and to Dr. Dörpfeld for valuable observations.

from Athens either by steamer leaving Piraeus in the evening, sailing around Sunium, and reaching Eretria early the following morning, or by taking cars to Cephisia, from that point on by either carriage or horse, *vid* Decelea, to Skala Oropou, or on horseback by way of Kalamos and the Amphiareion to the same place. At Skala Oropou boats may be hired to cross the Euripus. The journey by this route occupies 11-12 hours under favorable conditions.

It was on the last day of February, 1891, that we began our survey of the walls of this ancient Euboean city. The weather was bleak, rendering the management of the instruments somewhat difficult. A few flying snowflakes gave warning of the coming snowstorm, which rendered work impossible for several days thereafter. Our starting-point was just at the foot of the acropolis, on the eastern side of the town, where the modern road to Batheia and Aliveri passes over the foundations of the ancient city-walls. Just at the right of this modern road, concealed beneath slight elevations of earth, are the remains of the towers which guarded the entrance to the city on either side of the "Sacred Way" (see MAP). The course of this ancient road can be traced with absolute certainty for miles to the east by the multitude of graves which lie on either side. Some twenty minutes walk from the city-wall, on the south side of this way, was excavated that mausoleum which has been regarded as the possible tomb of Aristotle. The line of the wall from this station *A* runs a little east or south, toward the Euripus, in the direction of the peninsula which protects the large harbor on its east-southeast side.

For the first sixty metres, only a few fragments of the foundations are now above ground. At this distance is a low mound which seems to mark the site of a tower. For the next forty metres scarcely a trace of the wall can be seen, till the line is recovered in a square tower some 6.5 m. by 9 m. in plan. From this point on for 500 metres toward the sea, the line is perfectly clear. It is in this stretch that the plan and character of the wall of the lower city can best be studied. The builders seem to have avoided using a straight line, excepting for a short distance along the sea, where the wall is essentially different in construction. Neither here nor elsewhere is the line of wall even approximately straight for more than 40 m. at a stretch. The frequent changes of direction, for which often there exists no apparent reason, form a series of very obtuse angles. The right angle was not used

where we might expect one. Except in the corners of the "square" towers, such an angle does not occur in the whole circuit of the city. The existing foundations of this eastern wall of the lower town rise above the surface from 0.10 m. by station *B* to one metre near *D*. They are on an average 2.6 m. thick, varying but a few centimetres either way from this measure. The slight variation is in part accounted for by the difficulty in obtaining, on the somewhat roughly dressed stones, exactly corresponding points from which to measure; so the thickness of these walls, here as at every other point where sufficient remains are extant to render measuring possible, may be considered as accurately given by the above figures. These foundations are made up by a wall of stone on either side, the space between being filled with packed earth in which are scattered small stones. The stone is fairly well dressed on the surfaces which face outward; the inner surfaces however are quite in the rough, just as they were broken from the quarry. The work is semi-polygonal, there being very rarely a right angle in the joints. Many blocks are nearly quadrangular, but others are decidedly polygonal. Much pains seems to have been taken to make the upper surface of the foundations as nearly horizontal as possible. In this respect, indeed, the walls are much like those of Mantinea. There are absolutely no remains of the superstructure scattered about. This is not difficult to explain when we consider that Eretria has always been inhabited, and has, to judge by the graves, at times been the site of a considerable town since the days of its ancient renown. Even now the village numbers some 150 buildings of various kinds. It has not been uncommon for the walls of a city to disappear under such circumstances; and even to-day the inhabitants of Eretria are in the habit of digging up the foundations of the old city-walls to obtain stone for building. But there are reasons which tend to show that the upper portions of the walls of the lower city were built of sun-dried brick. Had the superstructure been of stone, it would be remarkable indeed if, in more than a mile and a half of such walls, some fragment had not escaped to tell the character of the rest. The foundations can be traced throughout nearly their entire length; yet not a stone which can be surely ascribed to the superstructure can be found. On the acropolis, some towers still stand to a height of 4 metres, while the wall of the citadel is in places 3 metres high. In this no attempt is made to have the first course above ground

horizontal, as in the lower city. It was not uncommon for city-walls to be built of sun-dried brick, and we know that this was the material used in the walls of Mantinea. The clay for such bricks was abundant near the Euboean city. It seems quite probable, therefore, that the portion of the place which lay in the plain was enclosed by walls of this nature. The outcropping rock of this region is limestone, but the ledges, even those in close juxtaposition, often show markedly different characteristics. All the stone used in the walls seems to have been quarried in the neighborhood. That employed in the lower city is in general of a light greyish color, little weatherworn, fine-grained, firm and hard.

The foundations of the towers, of which only slight indications are to be found in the remaining portions of the wall of the lower town, are along the eastern side intact and in excellent condition. A series of five in succession gave an excellent opportunity to learn the dimensions of their ground-plan, and the intervals at which they were probably placed along the greater extent of the defenses of the lower city; at least, nothing appears elsewhere to throw doubt upon the measurements here obtained. The average of these five gives a quadrilateral 6.6 metres in the line of the wall, by 9 metres in the perpendicular to this line. They extend across the wall and form an integral part of it, projecting about 1.5 m. within on the side next the city, and some 5 m. on the exterior side, and are placed at intervals of about 55 m. There was evidently no attempt to make the dimensions of all the towers just the same, or to place them at exactly equal intervals. The lengths (in the wall) vary from 6.4 m. to 6.8 m., the widths from 8.6 m. to 9.2 m., and the greatest distance between any two is 55.8 m., the smallest distance 54.8 m. The stonework is better in the towers than in the adjacent walls, but it retains the same polygonal character.

In this line are the foundations of two other very interesting towers. One is located at the southeast corner of the city-wall, at the southern end of the portion now under consideration. The other is 35 m. back toward our starting point. They are marked *E* and *F* on the MAP, and are circular in form, 7 m. in diameter. The wall is just tangent to the circle, and from it passages led within the towers. The stones of these, though the portion projecting within the towers is, as usual, left undressed, are on the outside beautifully worked to the circular

form, the joints being also carefully fitted. In addition, the outer surface is carefully dressed with regular horizontal rows of vertical straight lines about an inch long, the lines of the alternate rows, reckoning from the bottom, being perpendicularly over one another. This work is undoubtedly, as has been shown by Dr. Dörpfeld, an imitation in stone of the surface of the sun-dried brick. A path extends across the wall just north of the southernmost of these two towers. The shortness of the distance between them, some twenty metres less than usual, together with the unusual shape and their superior architectural beauty, can best be explained on the ground that there was here another entrance through the eastern wall of the city. The existing remains above ground are insufficient to establish this fact.

For nearly its entire length, a causeway must originally have been constructed on which to lay the foundations of this eastern wall. At the time our survey was made, it was impossible to work anywhere in this section except on a strip of land a few feet wide on either side of the line of wall. Even when we revisited the site, early in May, though the ground was elsewhere dry and the grain was almost ready for the harvest, there was still a marshy pond surrounded by a bog inside the wall; and the great marsh to the east of the line covered an area nearly as large as that occupied by the ancient city itself. It was undoubtedly this great swamp which gave the city its bad name in antiquity, and ultimately caused its depopulation. The late King Otho cherished plans for restoring the city to more than its old-time splendor by building a great naval station here. The new Eretria was duly surveyed, maps were drawn, plans made, colonists were settled. In the office of the village Demarch can still be seen on paper what magnificent boulevards, docks, public squares, fountains, and gardens were to have been called into being. But the dream of the king and the reality of to-day stand in sad contrast. The only parts of this magnificent scheme which took some material shape were three buildings that were intended for the Naval School, and the streets of the village, which impress one as being altogether too broad for the few poor houses scattered along them. The same unhealthful influences emanate from these marshes as of yore. They compelled the king to give up his scheme; and they render it unsafe for any one to remain at Eretria after the warm weather of spring has once fairly set in.

The direction of this east wall is such as, at first glance, to warrant the belief that it must have extended directly to the seashore at the

point where the peninsula joins the mainland, thus including the whole of the east side of the large harbor within the ancient fortifications. But, making a sharp turn to the west at *F*, it runs in a direction less than a right angle with its previous course for a hundred metres. At *H*, it turns with an obtuse angle toward the sea again, and its course is easily followed for some 120 metres further. At *I*, it is entirely lost in the well cultivated fields lying on this side of the village.

These apparently eccentric turnings involve the surrender of all idea of fortifying the entire water front of the large harbor as it now exists. Beyond *I*, though making various turnings, the wall does not finally reach the present line of the shore till it comes to *N*. From *N* to *O*, a distance of 80 metres, the line skirts the beach. At *O*, it turns directly inland; so that the line *N-O* is the only frontage the wall now has upon the harbor. This appeared a curious state of things, and for a long time no satisfactory solution of the puzzle could be found. To be sure, the line from the round tower at *F* toward the inland end of the peninsula, led across ground which was decidedly marshy at the time the survey was made, so much so, indeed, as to preclude a careful examination of all the intervening ground. The turns at *F* and *H* also brought the line around the small pond lying outside the wall in this direction. But the engineering-skill which had run the whole eastern wall through the great swamp, and included one pond within the fortifications, would certainly not have been stopped by the lesser obstacle between *F* and the sea. Then, too, in the line *H-I* the ground is perfectly firm the whole way to the shore. The angles at *F* and *H* are quite distinct; the line of wall *F-G-H-I* is unquestioned, being among the best preserved portions of the entire circuit of the lower city. It was only when we revisited the site in May, after the summer heats had dried up the swamp to some extent, that what seems the true explanation was discovered. In the immediate neighborhood of the line *F-G-H*, all traces of a former wall have disappeared. But, moving out from *G* directly toward the sea, a wall was discovered, concealed by bushes, sometimes indistinct, sometimes as well preserved as any portion of the eastern wall, in all sufficient to show that it must have extended from near *G* and enclosed the eastern side of this small pond. The wall ends abruptly, as shown on the MAP. The pond is half enclosed, on the east by this last discovered wall, and by the line *H-I* on the west. Between the pond and the present shore-

line is an accumulation, made up apparently of sea-sand, rising to perhaps 2-3 metres above the water-level at the highest point. Mention is made by ancient writers of the two harbors of Eretria. So it seems beyond question that where this little pond now is enclosed by the two arms of the city-walls was once the innermost fortified harbor of the Eretrians. Here, as in so many other instances, the action of wind and waves has completely altered the character of the coast, and filled up the old harbor.

At *I*, as mentioned above, all trace of the wall is lost. At *L*, it again appears, and from this point throughout the remainder of the circuit, both of the lower town and of the acropolis, the main line is traceable with perfect certainty. We counted ourselves very fortunate that the study of the walls offered problems enough to render the work most interesting, and that at the same time the remains were sufficient to restore, with a good degree of certainty, the ancient lines of the city.

From *I* to *L*, there existed beyond question a wall. Between these points to-day extends a highly cultivated field. In it a few stones are scattered about, and there are remains of foundations of buildings, perhaps constructed of stones from the city-wall; but, in the main, all traces which were above the surface have been removed entirely, both because desired for building purposes, and because they formed an obstruction to tillage. In a pit near *J*, was found a short bit of well laid stone substructure; but neither the character of the work nor the direction in which it extended seemed to warrant the conclusion that it was a portion of the city-wall. The line from *I* to *L*, as laid down on the MAP, shows how the wall, which must have crossed this interval, may have run. Three facts furnish the reason for choosing this particular course. At *J* and *K* are the foundations of what in later times were certainly buildings, but which anciently may have been towers. The stones look as if they had once belonged to the city-walls. The present dimensions of these foundations are, however, not what we should expect to find in foundations for wall-towers. In the line *K-L*, we find other foundations; in one case it may be the remains of a square wall-tower, in the other is recognized, by its dimensions and the character of the work, a round tower similar to the two already described. This last, at *O*, may be said to fix the line of wall as passing this point.

The line *N-O* has qualities, peculiar to itself, such as to show that here at least the shore-line has not changed. The best measurement gives its thickness as 2.7 m. ; but it is a solid stone wall for the entire length. It appears that the action of the waves injured this line to such an extent as to render most thorough repairs necessary ; for at the end near *N* the foundations are regular quadrangular blocks of breccia 0.7 m. by 1.3 m. in area on the upper surface, showing marked traces of red oxide of iron. The outer row of these blocks is laid with the ends toward the sea. Further on toward *O*, a course of fine polygonal blocks rests upon the breccia ; and near *O* the polygonal blocks only are in sight. Breccia, so far as I am aware, appears nowhere else either in the wall or in the neighborhood, and the way in which this stone is dressed points to a later period than that of the usual polygonal wall. The tower at *O*, of fine massive polygonal masonry, is circular in form, 7.6 m. in diameter, and of a quite different and more solid aspect than that presented by the round towers mentioned already. One complete course still stands above the surface ; and the water almost touches the outer edge of the tower. In two adjacent outer stones are to be seen the only clamp-holes which were found anywhere in the walls. One is for half of a U-shaped, the other for half of a  $\vdash$ -shaped clamp. It is quite possible that these were added, for some purpose, after the destruction of the upper portion of the tower. More probably, however, they served to clamp together the stones of the tower with those on the inner end of the mole or breakwater which runs out from this point. The breakwater extends out for perhaps 20 m., then turns at an acute angle and runs to the east in a direction too near the shore to be quite parallel with the wall *NO*. It ends a little to the east of *N*, and there is no connection between this extremity and the shore. Though the entire length is beneath the surface of the water, it is even now dangerous to sail over it with an ordinary boat. The evident purpose was to form a small haven into which galleys could run and lie in safety under the protection afforded by the sea-line of wall with its strong tower. Probably the breakwater extended above the surface in antiquity, though to what height it is not possible to say. The present character and condition of the breakwater are similar to those of the much longer mole which led out from the point of land by the ruined church further to the west. This sea-wall protected and still in a measure protects the great harbor from the sweep of the west-northwest winds, which blow down the Euripus. A small islet at the



outer end has given rise to the belief that a lighthouse formerly stood there.

At the eastern end of the sea-wall *NO*, by *N*, are remains of quadrangular foundations in poros stone, 9.7 m. wide in the direction *NO*. They apparently extended originally into the water, but the outer end is now washed away. The construction and position both warrant the belief that here was an ancient wharf; consequently, here must have been one sea-gate to the city.

The wall *OPSV* calls for little additional mention. From *O* to *S*, it passes beneath two modern buildings and crosses the streets of the present village. From *S* to *V*, the portion above the surface has been removed, but there has been but little digging for foundation-stone. The indications of the wall, though not very numerous, are quite unmistakable. Lines of graves on the other side of the fields to the west, show that, as indicated on the MAP, the "Sacred Way" from this direction probably entered the city at a point not far from the Naval School buildings; but there are no indications above ground to show that a gate stood here.

Passing very near the western side of the theatre-mound, at *V*, the wall of the lower town reaches its northwestern angle. Here was a tower much larger than any of those we had hitherto discovered. Unfortunately its ruined condition rendered it impossible to take the dimensions. Immediately to the north of this tower, in the brook which runs parallel to the line *VUT*, are the remains of the stone abutments of an ancient bridge. This, though other indications are lacking, shows that there was also an entrance to the city just to the east of the tower, at a point where a road now leads out and up the valley to the north.

At *V*, the wall turns toward the acropolis. For the first 50 m., the kind of stone, the method of construction, and the width, are the same as those of the eastern wall of the lower town. The same light-colored, fine-grained, hard limestone occurs, the same semi-polygonal shapes to the stones which form the two outer shells of the wall, the same rammed earth filling, with the thickness practically constant at 2.6 metres. At this 50 m. point a change takes place. The line begins to ascend the southwestern slope of the acropolis (PLATE V). For some little distance the ascent is gradual, and there are so few fragments of the wall still visible that the change does not become at once apparent. A more careful examination showed that there is a line of stones ex-

tending across the wall at this point *W*, and a piece of wall leads from the main line a few feet within the city. The stones in the main wall to the east of *W* are decidedly polygonal, and are of a different quality from those previously observed. The thickness of the wall is 2.1 m. This measure is characteristic of the acropolis-wall through its entire length. In the steepest portions of the ascent it contracts to 2 m., and in one or two places, as at *b* and *f*, it is much thicker for a short distance; this extra thickness is to give the wall the strength of a tower. The filling is composed almost entirely of small stones. From *X* to *Z* the grade is 10°. At *Z* begins a fine polygonal wall some 2 m. high. From *Z* to *a*, the angle of elevation is 17°. At *a*, the line turns and goes up the steepest portion of the ascent at an angle of 25°. A view (PLATE VI) of the wall beyond *b* on the MAP gives an excellent idea of the appearance of the main acropolis-wall in its entire extent. Towers are not placed at regular intervals, but occur apparently where most necessary. From *W* to *Z*, unimportant remains of these defenses exist. Some 20 m. beyond *Z* is a tower 6.1 m. by 5 m. in area. The view given in PLATE VII shows its great strength and the decidedly polygonal nature of the construction. The stone used is the same as the bed-rock over which the wall extends, and was apparently quarried on the spot. It is dark-grey, porous, and usually much weathered, so much so as to be exceedingly rough and unpleasant to the touch, contrasting decidedly with the stone in the walls on the plain. A comparison of PLATES VI and VII with the polygonal walls of Lepreum in Elis, of Asea near Tripolis, of Midea (?) in the Argolic plain, and of the well-known piece of polygonal wall on the side of the city opposite the "Treasury of Atreus," at Mycenae, shows that, so far as appearances go, the oldest portion of the acropolis-wall of Eretria displays a more decidedly polygonal character, and hence, in accordance with the old-time view, should be of a higher antiquity than any of these. Though no one would claim to-day that this appearance of hoary age shows of itself that these walls were constructed at any particular period before the Christian era, still, when taken in connection with other facts to be noted later, the comparison affords a strong presumption that the Eretrian acropolis was fortified at an early date.

Between *a* and *b*, when the summit is nearly reached, two walls branching from the main line claim attention. The one which crosses the southern portion of the summit till it joins the eastern wall of the acropolis, will be discussed further on. Just beyond where this leaves

the western line is a fine tower of polygonal masonry, 4 m. by 6 m., its outer wall still being at least 4 m. high. From immediately above the tower, the branch-wall starts down the slope to the left, at an angle of  $11^\circ$ . Just beyond this wall is the first gate of the acropolis. It is small, only 1.6 m. wide; but the lower courses are in excellent preservation; there is thus no doubt that this was the original width. The branch-wall appears, so far as the ruins will admit of decision, to be of the same nature as the main acropolis-wall *ab*, and was probably built at the same time. Rather more than a third of the way down the hillside it terminates in a tower at *I*. After a short break, there comes the tower *II*. From this point on, a diligent search failed to lead to the discovery of any further traces of the wall, though many stones which have fallen from the upper line are scattered over the ground. The first thought was that this lower wall was constructed to include springs for the citadel fortifications; but no traces of springs were found in the space thus added. After a study of the northeast entrance to the acropolis, a close examination showed that the main purpose here was probably to form a double line of defense for the entrance to the citadel from this direction, and at the same time to add to the area of the acropolis. The main wall from *b* to *d* is along the summit of a precipitous declivity, the bare rock sometimes falling 10–12 metres sheer. The branch-wall from the gate to *I* is also along the edge of a steeper portion of the hillside. Directly below the tower *II* are indications that a roadway, passing close below this tower and on between *I* and *II*, was formerly supported by a retaining-wall. This to be sure would present, to the defenders of the tower, the "shield side" of an enemy passing along this road; but the lay of the land did not allow of any other arrangement. The slope, both down the hill without and from within up to the gateway at *b*, is such that a roadway here would have been quite practicable.

The main purpose for which this wall was constructed being accomplished at the gate-towers *I* and *II*, it is natural to expect that from *II* the line should pass as quickly as possible back to the main wall. Though there is nothing in the space between to prove or disprove this, at *d* there are slight indications that the wall may have returned straight up the steep slope to this point. It is accordingly so shown on the MAP. The line *deg* passes along the northern edge of the summit. So sharp is the fall that a substructure of smaller stones, a little outside and below the real foundations, was deemed necessary along

the entire distance, *d-g*. The summit of the hill has been leveled, so that the existing remains of the encircling wall serve as a terrace-wall to support the earth, and they seldom project more than half a metre above the level of the soil within. The most imposing view of the summit must have been from the north. Here, no portion could have been more impressive than the walls of the great tower at *e*. Its dimensions are 9.8 m. by 7.8 m., while two cross-walls divide it within into four parts. Its northern wall is still 4.8 m. high, and it is constructed of regular courses, each 0.6 m. thick. The stones are not exactly rectangular, the vertical joints not being in all cases perpendicular; but it needs only a glance at PL. VIII to show that this has nothing constructionally in common with the main acropolis-wall as seen in the previous views. If further proof were needed, it is found in the fact that this tower is simply built against the wall. The wall, intact and as complete as elsewhere, runs behind the tower, the stones of the latter being merely laid close up to those of the wall. Stones similar in appearance and in material to those used here are found only in the two towers by the gate at *h*, and in the other similar tower at *k*. The shape of the stones used varies considerably in these four towers. The method of working is the same, even to a finished edge extending the entire length of the corners of the towers. This last peculiarity is found only in these four towers. These four structures, then, must be taken as representing a particular period of construction and repairs.

The tower at *g*, 4.5 by 6 m., though forming a part of the old wall, deserves special mention. Outside of and below it are two lines of terrace-wall. The slope here is not steep enough to require such supports, and the walls are too far from the tower to serve to strengthen its foundations. The more probable explanation is that at some time a path led up the slope, rounded the western end of the lower terrace-wall, passed between the two, turned the eastern end of the upper one and then proceeded, between the tower and the upper wall, to the west side of the tower, where there was a small entrance. A passage through the inner wall of the tower is still easily distinguished. The line for the greater part of the distance from *f* to *g* was strengthened by walls situated, the first 1.5 m. from the main wall, the second 1 m. further in, which look as if they may also have had the purpose of supporting a passage to the ramparts.

Between *g* and the northeast corner of *h*, the wall has been patched, in part with finely worked blocks of poros stone, one of them with a

side a perfect rectangle  $1.4 \times 0.8$  m. in area. These stones are different from any found elsewhere in the walls. This corner at *h* was naturally the weakest spot in the fortifications of the citadel. Here to the northeast is the highest portion of that ridge which connects the solitary outlying spur, which the Eretrians used for their acropolis, with the remaining foot-hills, offshoots of the Euboean Olympus. Along this ridge must have come that road which entered the acropolis between the gate-towers. Here an enemy would naturally attack, and here we accordingly find plentiful evidences of rebuilding and repairing.

The line *fgh* terminates in a fine tower (PLATE IX) projecting 4.9 m. in the direction *gh*, and 8.7 m. wide. Beyond the tower, in a continuation of the line *gh*, is a passage about 6 m. wide, beyond which again projects, to a distance of 10.2 m., another tower, which is 13 m. wide. The upper, the first mentioned of the two, is now 2.7 m. high, the lower tower 3 m. high, measured on the down-hill side in each case; while the up-hill sides are on a level with the earth at these points. Here, also, the upper tower is plainly an addition to the older wall; but a study of the lower easternmost one gives striking testimony that both these structures were an afterthought. About 45 m. from *h* in the line *hk*, the line *kh* divides, one branch going to *h* at the upper, the other to the lower of the two gate-towers. The two branches are apparently coincident in their time of building, and a small tower guards the point of junction. They are of the same construction as the main line of the acropolis-wall. Just before reaching its tower, the lower branch makes a curious curve, as if to pass around it instead of joining it directly. There is no appearance on the tower to indicate that the wall ever touched it. Unfortunately, from the point two or three metres from the tower, where the curve begins, the height of the wall falls away. Where it passes near the lower corner of the tower, only the points of the stones of the foundations project above the surface. This line is traceable completely around the lower side of this tower, up to, and across, the passage between the two towers. This is indicated by the dotted line on the MAP. There is not room enough between the lower tower and the dotted lines to admit of a passage. The dotted line across the entrance between the two towers cannot possibly represent the remains of a wall extending across this space after the time of the building of these two towers. Such a wall would render this entrance to the acropolis useless. This dotted line, then, stands for what can still be seen of the fortifications which were here

before these towers existed. When these earlier defenses had been destroyed, or were for some reason thought to be too weak for so important a line of defense, they were replaced by the existing towers. Naturally, the lower branch-wall must have joined the lower tower to make the line of defense complete. As no signs of a more intimate union exist, it seems that the wall must have been merely built up against the tower. By what sort of gate the entrance between the two towers was closed does not appear. The holes at comparatively regular intervals under the top course of stones of the upper tower appear, from a comparison with other parts of the same structure, to have been formed by the removal of the small stones used to fill up the openings due to the polygonal shape of the larger blocks. Some 37 m. from *h*, 8 m. from the dividing-point of the two branches, is found one side of the gateway leading within the acropolis itself. It is not possible to make out the width of this entrance. The existing portion has the same appearance as the sides of the gateway at *b*, on the west of the hill. From *h* to *k*, there are in the wall a few traces of patching in which lime-mortar appears for the first time. At *k*, is the last of the four great acropolis-towers, 9.8 m. by 7 m. in area. It is more massive than the other three, one corner-stone being 1 m.  $\times$  1 m.  $\times$  0.46 m. The wall here extends across the tower, which must therefore have been a later addition to the fortifications.

At the point *f*, the descent of the acropolis along the line of the wall begins. The slope is gradual from this point to *k*. From *k* to our starting-point at *A*, the angle of the slope is  $17^\circ$ , and the line runs obliquely down the hillside. The extant portions for a part of this distance are scanty but sufficient to determine the wall. Up to the point *p*, wherever measurable, the thickness is about 2.10 m. and the usual wall-characteristics of the acropolis-wall appear. Just beyond *p*, where measurement and accurate observation are again possible, the width is 2.6 m. and the appearance is that of the wall of the lower city.

The cross-wall along the southern edge of the acropolis next claims attention. Starting at *l*, on the west side of the acropolis, are the remains of two walls some 7 m. distant from each other. The ends are merely built against the main line at this point. The lower of these extends only a few metres, and is of as venerable appearance as the walls of Tiryns. The upper one is the beginning of the real cross-wall. Through the latter, a short distance from the beginning, is a passage 1.8 m. wide. Foundation-stones across the bottom of the pas-

sage, some 8 to 10 cm. high, forbid the idea that in antiquity this could have led through the wall at the same level as the surface of to-day. It seems more probable that the lower wall just mentioned supported a terrace, so that the pedestrian could pass through the cross-wall to this terrace at a higher level than at present, turn to the left, pass round the end of the retaining-wall, and then, bearing to the right, follow the foot-path that to-day as of yore leads down the steep descent by the line of wall *b-a*.

The southern declivity of the citadel is so steep, at times indeed absolutely precipitous, as to render even a good foot-path connecting the upper and lower towers practically impossible excepting at this place, and at *3* and *7* to the east. This cross-wall is of exceedingly poor construction, made of small stones held together by large quantities of lime-mortar, and is but 1.7 m. thick. These characteristics caused us to give it the name of the "Roman cross-wall." It passes along the southern edge of the summit to *2*, then turns downward at an angle of depression of  $17^\circ$  to run along the top of some beetling rocks at *4*. At *5*, it divides into two branches, one running northeast at about the same level and meeting the main line at *8*, the other bending down a steep descent around the summit of another precipitous rock at *6* to the gateway at *7*, beyond which it also joins the eastern acropolis-wall.

Though the descent from *3* is very steep, a foot-path is practicable. Halfway down are the ruins of what may have been a kind of propylaea, and below there are steps cut in the solid rock as if leading up to this point. The main entrance to the acropolis, however, from the city itself, the only one in fact in the least degree practicable for horses, must have led up through the gateway at *7*. The southeastern slope is quite gradual; and the triangle formed by the three walls within *7* has plainly been artificially leveled. Above the inner line of wall *5-8*, and from *8* along the main line back beyond *k*, there has also been much work of this kind. At *k*, indeed, the earth within is some 4-6 metres above that immediately without the wall. The line *5-8* is in such a ruined state that it is now impossible to say where the road passed through it; but it seems, from the nature of the slope, that this gateway must have been near the end at *8*. From *2*, in the line of the Roman cross-wall, are traces of a wall leading toward *8*, but the purpose of this was not determined.

Disregarding such appearances as the ancient part below the "Roman cross-wall" at *1*, the repairs with well squared stones near *h*, and the

rebuilding of the sea-line *NO*, four great periods of wall-building are clearly distinguishable at Eretria. In the order of apparent antiquity must be named: *first*, the main line of the acropolis-wall; *second*, the wall of the lower city; *third*, the four great towers at *e*, *h*, and *k*; *fourth*, the so-called "Roman cross-wall." Concerning the last three divisions, there can be no doubt, though by such a classification there is no intention of asserting that the four great towers, for instance, were all erected within any short definite period of time, as a single year. It is maintained only that they belong to the same period of construction. Our assigning two separate periods somewhat remote from each other for the construction of the acropolis-wall and of that encircling the lower city is so important, in view of what is to come, that it is best to recapitulate the arguments.

The acropolis-wall seems to have been entirely of stone; the upper portion of the wall of the lower city was apparently of brick. The acropolis-wall is markedly polygonal in character; the wall of the lower city much less so. The stone used in the construction of the two lines is in general quite different in material and appearance. Where observable, the filling of the wall in the lower city is rammed earth; on the acropolis it is largely composed of stones. The thickness of the lower wall varies but slightly from 2.6 m.; in the upper city the thickness of 2.1 m. is about constant. The points at which the changes in construction occur, are fixed with a good degree of precision at *W*, on the west, and *p* on the east. These indications first suggested the thought that, as in the case of Athens and of most Greek cities before the time of the Persian wars, the citadel of Eretria was first fortified; and only at a period considerably later was the city which had grown up on the plain thus protected. If this was so, there must have been a wall across the south slope of the acropolis long before the present late "Roman wall" was thought of.

Search for the foundations of such a line did not receive so full a reward as could have been desired. This southern slope of the citadel has at first a gradual ascent, and the ruins on its lower portion are the most exposed to the depredations of the villagers seeking for building-stone. A small quarry has in fact been opened here; but this was not done till the greater portion of the loose building-material had been removed. Higher up on the slope, as indicated by the crosses on the map, considerable remains of terrace-walls and parts of the foundations of buildings are still found. The line of the streets, even on the



steep hillside, can sometimes be traced for a short distance. These remains are, almost without exception, of the same material and character as those of the old main line of the acropolis-wall. Such remains are not found below the dotted line, which marks the presumable course of the lower wall of the ancient citadel. The number of fragments of wall scattered over the hillside rendered the tracing of this line exceedingly difficult. Nowhere, indeed, were foundations discovered so that the width of the wall could be measured. Starting at *p* on the east side, just where the change in the width and character of the wall takes place, a line of stones at short intervals leads across a grain-field toward the west. These indications were followed carefully, the line being staked at intervals. In one spot the bed-rock had evidently been hewn out to receive the lower courses of the wall. Portions of foundations of what seemed to be towers appeared occasionally; other fragments of wall kept lining in, till finally all indications pointed toward *W* on the west side as the terminus of this lower wall. In other words, this cross-wall rejoins the acropolis line at the west exactly where it was to be expected. Of the many fragments lying higher up the hill, so far as careful study has shown, none will line in with such a wall as is required here. This wall as laid down on the MAP includes within the ancient citadel the most ancient foundations of the city. It stretches across a short distance above the foot of the declivity. The peculiar long projection of these acropolis-fortifications toward the west is also accounted for. Just outside the line *WX*, is a sharp break, a sudden descent, rendering the line of wall easy of defense. The extension of this ancient city so far to the west included practically the whole of the southern slope of the hill within the walls, and brought the western limit within a short distance of the little brook which is the only abundant source of running water. No claim of absolute demonstration for this cross-line of wall is put forth,—the extant remains are too scanty for that; but in the light of the facts presented its existence may fairly be said to be in the highest degree probable.

On the very summit of the acropolis, some well dressed poros blocks have been excavated, but not sufficient evidence has as yet appeared to show the character of the structure to which they belonged. Unimportant remains are also visible in other portions of the citadel. Along the road leading into the town from the east at *A*, the somewhat extensive excavations carried on by the Greeks for the purpose

of procuring earth with which to fill up the great swamp, have brought to light extensive foundations, apparently belonging to stoas and similar public buildings. Some ruins of the same nature have been uncovered to the east, along this same road, outside the walls. Near the line *VW*, and in the bushy ground south of the theatre, many foundations are to be seen also, the course of some of the narrow streets being traceable. Fragments of walls just coming to the surface are occasionally found in the streets and plots of the modern village; but there seems to be little of promise for the excavator's spade.

No attempt has been made on the map to show the number and arrangement of the graves beside the "Sacred Way" and on the point by the land-end of the large breakwater; it has merely been sought to indicate the places in which the graves are found. The tombs along the great highway leading toward the east are in great numbers, and the lines extend for a considerable distance back from the road on either side. No graves have been found within the walls. On the western side of the acropolis, without the walls, are the ruins of a small church. These are interesting, because here was found, a few years ago, an inscription relating to Dionysus. Other wrought stones have been found on this hillside; notable among these is a well made door-sill.

In view of the statements of distances found in classical authors, it was interesting to discover that the width from the sea-wall at *N* to the Skala of Oropus, on the opposite shore of the Euripus, is 7687.37 m., or about 4.8 English miles. Measurement of the distance to the Delphinium gave 9679.43 m., or 6 English miles. The latter figures are less trustworthy, however, because of the impossibility of locating exactly from Eretria the position of this ancient harbor.

Situated on the northern shore of the broad Euripus, which here presents the appearance of an inland sea, with such fine harbor advantages as were evidently hers, it is easy to understand the ancient maritime power of Eretria. To-day the great harbor has a water-front, reckoned from the point by the ruined church on the west to the inland end of the peninsula on the east, of but little less than a mile. Nothing but the unwholesomeness of the air stands in the way of Eretria becoming again one of the most prosperous ports in Greece. The peninsula, which, as has been said, is now at some tides entirely surrounded by water, has upon it unimportant remains of walls, particularly on the inland end and on the east side. These remains, at first thought to be of high antiquity, were proven by the use of mortar in their construc-

tion to be comparatively modern. This peninsula, in the lapse of time, has suffered very severely from the action of the waves. Exposed as it is to the sweep of the prevailing winds up and down the strait, the outer end has been worn away for a long distance, as may be seen by the reef projecting here. This process of destruction is indeed still going on; and owing to the large area which has thus been washed away we cannot say how extensively this land may have been utilized in antiquity.

The plain on which the town was built, extending several miles along the shore, is very fertile, and is seldom more than three or four metres above sea-level. To an observer, either from the deck of a passing steamer or from the high ground of the opposite shore, it easily becomes apparent why the Eretrians of old chose this for the site of their city. Nowhere along the stretch of coast does there appear another such elevation for a citadel. The circuit of the outer wall of the lower town and acropolis is about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles, which of itself would show that this was indeed "no mean city."

It was our good fortune to be busied with this survey in those days of early March when the snowstorm had cleared away, to be followed by many days of cloudless beauty. From the top of the acropolis, 116 m., high, we looked down on the plain and the town. On one side the workmen were busy at the theatre excavations; out on the plain to the east, others were opening tombs; just beyond the town stretched the winding course of the Euripus with occasionally a passing sail. The snow had scarcely melted when thousands of bright anemones scattered themselves over the fields. The eye wandered from these nearer scenes, attracted by the wonderful beauty of the mountains still clad with snow. A little north of west the sharp, white, perfect cone of Messapium rose. Further southward, in the distance, towered lofty Parnassus; then came Cithaeron. To the south, Parnes shut out the view of Pentelicus. To the southeast appeared Ocha and the mountains of southern Euboea. Close beside us, to the east and north, was the snowy range of Olympus. Day by day the snow-line climbed higher, and the valley became more green. The contrasts of these snow-caps and the verdure, the wide extent of sea and plain and mountain, as seen through the clear air of Greece under the soft purplish glow of a Greek sunset, made a picture of rare beauty, such as one seldom looks upon, but never forgets when once seen.

JOHN PICKARD.

## A TEMPLE IN ERETRIA.

[PLATE XI.]

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In the excavations at Eretria in 1894 we had the good fortune to uncover the foundations of a temple, the existence of which was not then known to archæologists. On the very first day of our work, led by some hewn stones protruding from the bushes, we came upon a broad platform, and so shallow was the earth over it—from one to two feet—that by the evening of the third day we had it entirely laid bare. At the end of a week we had dug all around it a trench about three feet wide, down to the bottom of the foundation, and had cleared out the main opening in the platform. This platform shape made us doubtful about the nature of the building which stood on such a foundation. It did not seem to conform to the usual shape of temple foundations. Bötticher and Michaelis,<sup>1</sup> to be sure, speak as if the foundations of temples were usually solid platforms. But existing remains show simply lines of foundation-walls under the supporting members, the colonnade and the cella walls. So the substructure of the Parthenon is represented in the cut accompanying an article by Dr. Dörpfeld in the *Mittheilungen des deutschen archæologischen Instituts*, 1892, p. 177.

Again, the great breadth of the platform in proportion to its length (12.50 m. × 23.05 m.) was a stumbling block. But we reflected that after all what we had discovered was not a stylobate, but that above this must have lain at least two, and perhaps three, courses, to form the steps of the temple, besides the usual *euthyteria*. Subtracting one meter all around, *i. e.*, reducing

<sup>1</sup>BÖTTICHER, *Akropolis von Athen*, p. 56. MICHAELIS, *Der Parthenon*, p. 5.

the length two meters and the breadth two meters, would give as result a breadth *less* than one-half the length, instead of more than half, which would not be very abnormal for a temple. In the reconstruction of the temple in the plan (PLATE XI) by W. Wilberg, .35 m. is allowed as the width of each step, which, even with a slight allowance for the *euthynteria*, would leave a breadth of somewhat more than half the length. The ratio of breadth to length of the stereobate, as it stands, is about the same as in the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus. This, with dimensions 13.20 m.  $\times$  24.50 m., affords a ratio of .5388, while the Eretria stereobate affords a ratio of .5423, being slightly broader. The two temples were of very nearly the same size, and not very much smaller than the Theseium or the Athene temple at Aegina. In the plan the temple is restored like the Asclepius temple,<sup>2</sup> with six columns at the ends and eleven at the sides, and an allowance of 2.05 m. as intercolumnar space. Both these temples lack the *opisthodomos*, which may account for their shortness.

Similar in proportions were the Metroön at Olympia, the temple of Athene at Priene, and the temple discovered by Dr. Dörpfeld at Lepreon in April, 1891.<sup>3</sup> These proportions seem to have been usual in the fourth century. The Heraeum at Argos, though falling in the latter part of the fifth century, approaches these proportions with a ratio of breadth to length of .5008,<sup>4</sup> while the Theseium stereobate has a breadth considerably less than half the length.

The great breadth of the foundation at the sides of the cella, which gives the appearance of a platform to the foundation, is explained by the consideration that the cella wall comes so near to the colonnade that it was easier to make a common foundation somewhat broader than usual, than to make two separate foundations. This arrangement, however, is believed to be unique in existing remains.

The other two openings in the platform are so situated as to conform to the position between the colonnade and the *pronaos* and to the *pronaos* itself, which is a strong confirmation of the

<sup>2</sup> KABBADIAS, *Les Fouilles d'Epidaure*, Plate VI.

<sup>3</sup> *Mitt. d. deutsch. arch. Inst., Athen*, 1891, p. 259.

<sup>4</sup> *AM. JOUR. OF ARCH.*, VIII, p. 216.

view that we have here the foundations of a temple. The foundation is a massive one, composed of three courses of limestone blocks from the acropolis near at hand. Each course is .46 m. thick, making a total depth of 1.38 m. The blocks are not arranged in any order of "stretcher and binder," but are large pieces of very various lengths and breadths, carefully fitted without clamps. Not a single stone of any of these courses is displaced, whereas only a few stones of another course remain over the opening in the *pronaos*. These latter may be classified as breccia; but the only difference between them and the limestone blocks is that they hold more pebbles, and are thus of a firmer texture. Both come from the acropolis.

Close to the northwest corner of the temple, diverging from it as it proceeds southward, about three feet below the surface of the platform, was a water conduit of round tiles, about six inches in diameter. We traced this far enough back to the north of the temple to conclude that it comes down from the valley between the acropolis and the hills to the west of it. Another branch of the same conduit appeared near the northeast corner of the temple, but at the level of the platform. A shaft was discovered close to the temple, on the south side at the east end (A), not squared with the temple, the side most nearly parallel to its south side diverging from it at an angle of about 25°. The sides of the shaft are made of carefully hewn stones in six courses, each .50 m. thick. The two lowest courses are lacking on the side away from the temple, to give place to a lateral passage about 1.30 m. high, not faced with stone, but arched out of the compact earth, and now partly filled with accumulated soil. This we slowly cleared out to a distance of about sixteen meters. It took a southwesterly direction from the south face of the temple, curving slightly to the right. To get a vent-hole for the one man who worked in the passage we dug a shaft 8.7 m. out from the temple, and struck at the same time the passage and a flight of six steps leading up over it toward the temple. These steps seem to mark on the south side the *peribolos* of the temple, which on the west side must have come very near to the city wall, while on the north side the precinct was bounded, in part at least, by a long line of choregic monuments. It was impracticable for us to lay bare the

*peribolos* wall on the southern side, as it ran under our dump heap, which had become rather large.

The object of the shaft and the passage gave rise to lively discussion among the workmen and the inhabitants of Eretria generally. As there were carefully cut foot-holes along two sides of the shaft, the prevailing opinion was that it led to a subterranean treasury, and every man wanted to work in the passage. The skull of a cow or an ox found at the bottom of the shaft suggested to us at first the idea of a sacrificial pit; but the sacrifices were doubtless performed at the altar in front of the temple. The most probable explanation is that we have here a conduit to carry off the rain water from the temple. The significance of the foot-holes is, however, in that case not quite clear.

To the east of the temple, and adjacent to it, are two statue bases (C, C), and at a distance of 13.65 m. a foundation (B) which was a puzzle to the American excavators of 1891, and was at that time considerably pulled to pieces in the attempt to ascertain whether it was a tomb or the foundation of a building. This now, from its connection with the temple, appears to be an altar. It is not in the axis of the temple; but this is not surprising. The altar of Athene on the Acropolis and that of Dionysus near the Athenian theatre were far from being in the axes of their respective temples, though not so far from it as the altar of Zeus at Olympia, while the altar before the Pythion at Icaria was so nearly in the axis of the temple that the deviation seems designed as here.

All around our temple and over the main opening was a layer of limestone almost as hard as the blocks themselves, which were rather friable. Its lower surface was about six inches above the level of the stereobate. It varied in thickness from about a foot to three or four inches, being thickest on the north side. It was also thick on the east side, where it grew gradually thinner as it receded from the temple, but continued all the way to the altar. On the north side we traced it back about twenty feet. At first we thought it the stone of the building crumbled in a great conflagration which obliterated all the architectural members, like the column and entablature. We were led to this belief by the striking amount of charcoal which we found in various places,

but especially in the large opening. Often a large lump of charcoal was held in the mass of stone, and in the big opening it was found with bits of bronze clear down to the bottom of the walls. But since the charcoal could not get below the stone pavement of the cella in a fire which destroyed the temple, this charcoal must have come from an earlier fire, possibly from the one which followed the capture of Eretria by the Persians.

The view of Dr. Dörpfeld is probably correct, that the layer was made up of stone-cutters' chips, solidified perhaps on the north and east sides, where there would be much passing, with the aid of cement. The disappearance of the columns and entablature, and of the upper layers of the platform is easily enough accounted for without calling in the assistance of a catastrophe. They lay on the surface, inviting plunder. Especially if these were marble columns, they would speedily find their way to lime kilns, such as yawn now near the theatre. If the Eretria of the present day were a place where there was much building going on, it would take vigilant supervision to prevent the foundations which we here found, poor material as they are, from being carried off piecemeal. Since I made the acquaintance of Eretria, in 1891, a considerable part of the acropolis wall, with one venerable looking tower,<sup>5</sup> has gone into the lime kiln.

We have made a substantial contribution to the topography of Eretria. The future traveller, instead of speaking of "Eretria with its theatre," must speak of "Eretria with its theatre and temple." In the case of such an important city, and one whose history interests us deeply, while no ancient writer has given us any description of it, this is more of an addition to our archaeological knowledge than the discovery of a whole town in Macedonia or Cappadocia.

The first question suggested by a survey of these foundations is whether they can be identified with those of any other temples known to have existed in Eretria. We naturally wish to give the foundling a name. Here we feel the lack of Pausanias, by whom excavators elsewhere have profited so much. We must guess.

In going to Eretria my one specific and outspoken object was to find a temple of Dionysus behind the stage building of the

<sup>5</sup> It is the one which appears in Plate VII.



theatre. We found a temple there, but are not disposed to count this as settling the case. What we wanted and did not get was proofs in the shape of inscriptions.

But it will be readily granted that when a temple and altar and theatre seem to make one complex, the presumption is that the temple and theatre belong together (the northeast corner of the temple is only 19 m. from the southwest corner of the stage building). Also it will be granted that if Dionysus was worshipped at all in Eretria, the theatre probably belonged to him. That Dionysus was worshipped in Eretria, and had a temple there, is certified by inscriptions. *CIG.*, No. 2144, speaks of the *ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου, πομπή τοῦ Διονύσου*, and *χόροι τοῦ Διονύσου*. Another inscription, in honor of Theopompos, given in Rhangabé, *Ant. Hell.* II, p. 266 ff., also speaks of the *πομπή τοῦ Διονύσου*. These inscriptions are generally thought to belong to the Macedonian or Roman period. But the *πομπή* is thought of as something existing, and not then first introduced. Rhangabé hesitates to put the latter inscription into Roman times, and inclines, in spite of the late appearance of some of the letters, to put it back of the Macedonian supremacy. It indicates a time of freedom and prosperity. Eretria votes to erect statues to one of her own citizens, who has presented the city with a fund of 40,000 drachmas, to buy oil for the athletes in the gymnasium. Perhaps the time between the Peloponnesian War and the battle of Chaeroneia, when her coffers were no longer drained by Athens for the adornment of the Acropolis, was the really wealthy period of Eretria. It is not unlikely that the theatre in its second period, *i. e.*, substantially in the form in which it has come down to us, and the temple, which seems to go with it, were built at this time.

But just where we get our explicit information of a temple of Dionysus our difficulty begins. The first of the inscriptions referred to comes from Cyriac of Ancona, who says that he saw it on a large and finely wrought piece of marble in a vineyard, where there was to be seen a temple of Dionysus fallen into decay from age.<sup>6</sup> Can we believe that Cyriac, nearly five hundred years ago, saw our temple before it had disappeared from the face of

<sup>6</sup> *In agro vineorum, ubi templum Bacchi collapsum vetere conspicitur, in magno et ornatissimo marmore.* ВОРЕКН, under *C I G.* 2144.

the earth? One would like to believe it. As far as the vineyard is concerned, we could believe that where only bushes now abound there were once flourishing vines. A bean field came nearly up to the edge of the theatre at the time of our excavations. But unfortunately for this view Cyriac gives another Eretrian inscription which he says he found *in summa arce, apud amphitheatrum*. Here he must mean the theatre, which, after the destruction of the city, must always have been the conspicuous object amid the remains. And if Cyriac located one inscription by its nearness to the theatre he would almost surely have noted the other by the same method; and if he located the acropolis itself by its nearness to the theatre, much more would he have noted the nearness of the temple to the theatre, if he meant our temple. In order, then, to save our temple for Dionysus, we must proceed on what is perhaps not a very violent supposition, *viz.*, that Cyriac saw the inscription in question near a temple somewhere in the fields, and as the inscription began *ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου*, and treated of a Dionysiac festival, jumped to the conclusion that the temple was a temple of Dionysus. The stone, however, may have been carried some distance. The epithet "magno" is not to be pressed. It was probably a *stèle* with mouldings and perhaps figures as a heading. The long Chaerephones inscription, *Eph. Arch.* B'. p. 317 ff., which was set up in Eretria in the temple of Apollo, was found in Chalcis.

The suggestion of two Dionysus temples is open to more serious objection. Eretria probably did not have such a profusion of temples, as Argos did for example, that several could belong to one divinity.<sup>7</sup>

The possibility that our temple does not belong to Dionysus must be conceded. The proximity to the theatre is not absolute proof. Indeed, it can hardly be taken for granted that every theatre is a theatre of Dionysus. This would hardly pass without question for the theatres of Epidaurus, Delphi and Dodona. We must then consider the claims of other candidates.

There is no divinity so prominent in connection with Eretria

<sup>7</sup> Another inscription, published by F. Lenormant in *Rhein. Mus.* XXI, p. 533, mentions *ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διονύσου*. He gives as the place of finding simply "Eretriae, in marmore mutilo."

as Artemis. She was a great divinity in Euboea generally, as is shown by coins. Her temple at the northern end of the island, it will be remembered, gave the name to the first great naval battle of the Persian War. Her Eretrian temple was the place where important inscriptions are to be set up, *e. g.*, that one on which the Eretrians tell of their greatness and their numbers,<sup>8</sup> and the stone on which the compact in regard to the Lelantiue War was inscribed.<sup>9</sup> Here also, was to be deposited the Theophrastus inscription.<sup>10</sup> It was not merely the principal temple of Eretria. It was, according to Livy (xxxv, 38), a rendezvous for the inhabitants of Carystus also. Probably it was the important temple of Euboea, which delighted to honor the Delphic trinity—Apollo, Artemis and Leto—with a preference for putting the virgin goddess at the head of the list.<sup>11</sup> It is the only temple of Eretria mentioned by Strabo, and is frequently mentioned in inscriptions.

But this temple, called the temple of Artemis Amarysia, is thought to have been not in Eretria itself, but seven stadia outside of it, at a village called Amarynthos.<sup>12</sup> Strabo, to be sure, does not *say* that the temple was in Amarynthos.<sup>13</sup> Artemis might have been named Amarysia while worshipped in Eretria, just as naturally as she was so called when worshipped at Athmonon in Attica, where she has left a trace of herself in the modern name Marousi.<sup>14</sup>

The inscription *C I G.* 2144b, in honor of Phanokles, found within the city limits, speaks of Artemis without the epithet Amarysia, and inasmuch as the inscription provides that the *stèle* on which it is inscribed shall be set up in the temple of Artemis, Boeckh supposes that there was a second temple of Artemis within the city also. This is of course possible. But the temptation would lie near to seek in our temple, which was in a con-

<sup>8</sup> STRABO, p. 448.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> RHANGABÉ, *Ant. Hell.* II, p. 266 ff., No. 689.

<sup>11</sup> ULRICH, *Reisen*, II, p. 249. RHANGABÉ, *Ant. Hell.* II, p. 782, No. 1232. BURSIA, *Geog. Griech.* II, p. 423. *Eph. Arch.* 1892, pp. 141, 154bis, 158.

<sup>12</sup> STRABO, p. 448.

<sup>13</sup> *πομπή* in Strabo, p. 448, does not necessarily imply a march *out* from the city any more than the *πομπή* of Dionysus, above referred to, or the *πομπή* at the Panathenæa. The Eleusinian *πομπή* must not prejudice us.

<sup>14</sup> PAUS. I, 31, 5. LOLLING in *Mitt. d. deutsch. arch. Inst., Athen*, 1880, p. 289.

spicuous part of the city, near the theatre, the foot of the acropolis, and the gate leading out to Chalcis, the one temple of Artemis Amarysia, were it not for the inscription published in the *Eph. Arch.* B', p. 381, No. 417 (Cauer, *Delectus*, No. 533), which prescribes that the Eretrian copy of the treaty between Eretria and Histiaea shall be set up in Amarynthos (*Ἀμαρυνθοί*). This makes it as good as certain that the temple of Artemis Amarysia, elsewhere mentioned as the place for depositing important inscriptions, is here intended, and so was not in Eretria itself. As our temple is not likely to have been the temple of Artemis, how gladly would we believe that the temple among the vines, which Cyriac saw and took to be the temple of Dionysus, was really the temple of Artemis Amarysia. We could make ample amends to Dionysus by giving him the temple which we have just discovered.

But so long as a shade of doubt remains concerning the proprietorship of Dionysus, we may mention another candidate. A temple of Apollo *Daphnephoros* is mentioned in the Chaerephones inscription<sup>15</sup> as a place for setting up the *stèle*, and since this temple is named in line 10 as the place where the Eretrian citizens are to take the oath, it is perhaps fair to presume that it was in the city and accessible. One inscription<sup>16</sup> containing a specification that it be set up in the temple of Apollo *Daphnephoros* was found in Eretria itself, and so corroborates this view.

At last we have a candidate against whom it cannot be alleged that he was an outsider. But it must be confessed that there is no positive proof. The same may be said of the claims of Demeter, who appears to have been worshipped at Eretria, if we may judge from a reference to the Thesmophoria in Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 31, where the question is propounded: "Why do the Eretrian women roast their meat, at the Thesmophoria, not at the fire but in the sun?"

What other temples the Eretrians had which are not mentioned by authors or inscriptions which have come down to us we cannot tell. On this consideration there might be many candidates, but we come back in the end to our first suggestion, *viz.*, that a

<sup>15</sup> *Eph. Arch.* B', p. 317, No. 404a.

<sup>16</sup> *Eph. Arch.* B', p. 384, No. 418. This temple is also mentioned in inscriptions published in the *Eph. Arch.* 1892, pp. 128, 134. Cf. also PLUT. *Pyth. Orac.* 16.

temple so closely connected with the theatre was in all probability a temple of Dionysus, and if it be deemed rash to set aside the testimony of Cyriac of Ancona, we might postulate a second temple of Dionysus with almost as much show of reason as Boeckh had for postulating a second temple of Artemis.

In the excavations about the temple we found very little pottery. One piece of a *lekythos*, however, with black figures on a white ground, seems to indicate a date before the Persian Wars.<sup>17</sup> In contrast to this is a small marble head found under the layer of poros covering the main opening in the temple. This cannot well be earlier than the fourth century. If it be a divinity it is most likely an Aphrodite.

In the dump heap we found a torso of a terra-cotta siren or harpy, apparently a rattle for a child. It was covered with a coating of stucco, and was probably painted. This might belong to almost any age.

Of the close connection between the altar and the theatre, which may help to afford an explanation of the enigmatical passage under the stage building, Professor Capps will treat in his article on the theatre.

Near the line of bases extending westward from the theatre (D D D D) were found four fragments of inscriptions, no one of which affords a whole name. But what is more important, one affords ΘΗΚΕ and another ΗΥΛΕΙ. This makes it certain that the bases belong to choregic monuments, like those at Athens,<sup>18</sup> and that this theatre was the scene of musical or dramatic contests. The inscription containing ηύλει, and probably all the others, is from the fourth century.

#### EXCURSUS ON THE LOCATION OF THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS AMARYSIA.

Since the location of the temple of Artemis Amarysia is the burning question of Eretrian topography, and since we made the

<sup>17</sup> E. A. GARDNER in *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, 1894, p. 180 ff. Unfortunately the exact place of finding was not noted. But we have at least an additional token that the pre-Persian Eretria was on the same spot as the later city. Cf. AM. JOUR. OF ARCH. VII, p. 241.

<sup>18</sup> REISCH, *De Musicis certaminibus*, p. 84 ff. HARRISON, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. 268 f. The bases and architectural fragments Professor Capps will describe.

only excavations yet made with a view of ascertaining its location, it may seem proper to add a few words on this subject.

Strabo's seven stadia have been measured by different writers in nearly all the different directions from Eretria except out into the deep sea; and Stephanus of Byzantium, who says Amarynthos = *νήσος*, seems to invite us to that saltum mortalem. Under such circumstances it is not a little tantalizing to hear Wilamowitz say: "Möchte bei der Artemis von Amarynthos recht bald gegraben werden";<sup>19</sup> and again: "An diesem Orte wären Ausgrabungen recht sehr am Platze."<sup>20</sup> Yes, if we only knew where the place was.

Considering that Eretria's territory opens out toward the east rather than the west, we chose that direction, taking also into account Lolling's suggestion<sup>21</sup> of a possible identification of Amarynthos with a supposed Old Eretria, which, according to Strabo,<sup>22</sup> lay to the east of the later city.

It was the village of Amarynthos, and not the temple, which Strabo<sup>23</sup> gives as seven stadia distant from Eretria; consequently we need not be exact about the distance of the spot selected for excavation. The hill called Kotroni lies not much in excess of seven stadia to the east, perhaps not at all if the measurement be made in a straight line across to the hills from the northeast corner of the acropolis wall. Kotroni, too, is as much of a *νήσος* as that which figures in Herodotus' description of the battle of Plataea—as much of a *νήσος* as one would be likely to find on dry land.<sup>24</sup>

At the southern foot of this hill lies one roofless church, which the owner of the land here says he built several years ago to take the place of an older one near by, fallen to ruin from age. From the ground on which the older church stood he had taken several inscribed marbles which he frankly confesses he had committed to the lime-kiln to make mortar for his house building. One of these, a *stèle*, he had built into his house. It showed the initial letters of two names, Μ and Δ. He assured me that the inscrip-

<sup>19</sup> HERMES, XXI, p. 97.

<sup>20</sup> Antigonos von Karystos, p. 136.

<sup>21</sup> Mitt. des deutsch. arch. Inst., Athen. x (1885), p. 354.

<sup>22</sup> STRABO, p. 408.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid, p. 448.

<sup>24</sup> HDT. IX, 51.

tion ran *Μῆμιος Δάφνιδος*. This account looked hopeful; but two days' digging of trenches on this spot revealed the bed-rock at a very slight depth, while nothing but modern walls appeared. We found two inscriptions, almost at the beginning of our work, on plain *stelae*. These were simply the names

ΙΠΡΟΚΛΕΙΑ  
and ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ

We also noticed built into a wine-vat, and taken from the same spot where we dug, another epitaph running

ΓΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ  
ΓΥΦΩΝΟ—

Could this be a stone-cutters' error for *Πύθωνος*?

Of course the temple may still lie within a hundred yards or the spot on which we dug, but we have done ample justice to our main reason for selecting this spot, viz., the testimony of the land owner.

One may perhaps now all the more readily lend an ear to those who strongly suspect that Strabo has erred or been made to err by bad copying, and so seek the temple much farther away.<sup>25</sup>

Not until excavations have been undertaken at every promising point near Bathya, and at reasonable distances in the other direction, toward Chalcis, should we despair of locating the temple.

Athens,

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

March, 1895.

<sup>25</sup> ULRICHS (*Reisen*, II, p. 249) is inclined to seek it at Bathya, two hours to the east of Eretria. Inscriptions point to something like this. Cf. *Eph. Arch.* A'. p. 1886, No. 3524. An old church near Bathya is mentioned as the place of finding. What is more to the point, the fragment of the Eretria-Histiaea treaty, above referred to, was said by an informant, whom Eustratiades (*Eph. Arch.* B', p. 382) regarded as more trustworthy than the setter of the stone, to have come not from a place near Orcos, but from Bathya.

## EXCAVATIONS IN THE ERETRIAN THEATRE IN 1894.

[PLATE XII.]

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The work of excavation in and about the theatre at Eretria during the month of May, 1894, was entrusted by the Director, Professor Richardson, to Professor Phillips and myself. While the former was engaged in uncovering the temple, the workmen under my direction cleared away the earth from about the stone structure to the southwest of the scena-building (B), and sank trial trenches immediately behind the scena. The stone structure proved to be an altar. No indications were found that a stoa or other accessory buildings had ever existed in this part of the Dionysus precinct. During the second week our workmen were all employed on the temple. Then a trench was sunk from the northeast corner of the temple in the direction of the theatre. Foundation walls were found, which were recognized at once as belonging to the west wing of the scena, restored conjecturally in Mr. Fossum's plan (see pp. 56-103, and PLATE IV). Much encouraged by this discovery, we employed from this time on as many men as could work to advantage in the narrow space south of the ruins of the cavea and west of the scena. The foundations lay so near the surface and progress was so rapid that we reached the west parodos several days before the close of the campaign. Unfortunately the point about which the greatest interest centered, the parodos itself, was so deeply buried under the mass of heavy stones and earth that had fallen at the collapse of the sustaining wall of the cavea, that only a beginning was made of a work of which the completion might prove of considerable importance for the understanding of this interesting theatre.



*The west wing of the scena* (PLATE XII). The ground plan of the west wing of the scena has been completely recovered. That of the east wing may now be safely restored in its general outlines to correspond, since the dimensions of length and depth are the same. The rear wall of the west wing extends 10.50 m. from the point where it leaves the outer wall of the main building, then bends to meet the wall of the parodos, making an obtuse angle at the southwest corner. The foundation course alone remains, laid almost on the surface and carelessly put together of irregular stones of different material. Judging from the inferior workmanship, this wing must be of very late construction. As the wall approaches the parodos, the foundations go deeper, are heavier and more carefully fitted. The depth at the entrance to the parodos is 1.68 m. The front wall of the west wing is formed by a continuation of the *scaenae frons*, which runs parallel to the wall of the parodos.

In the irregular quadrilateral space enclosed by the walls just described are various remains. One meter from the main building is a short fragment of a transverse wall, and 2 m. further another, of which 1.70 m. are preserved. Then comes a circular structure (marked E in the plan) 3.38 m. in diameter, which breaks into the boundary wall at this point. Of this two courses remain; the lower, formed of small stones closely laid in a circle, and above it a course of poros cut to a circle on the outside and forming a regular hexagon within. This probably served as a foundation for a circular building of some sort, possibly a choregic monument. There is no evidence of its use as a cistern, such as have been found in several theatres in connection with the scena building.<sup>1</sup> A little further to the west is a base 1.97 m. square (F in plan), formed of four slabs of black marble neatly dressed and joined with z clamps. The orientation of this base, which forms an angle with both of the adjacent boundary walls, but is in alignment with the stylobate which extends to the westward, prompts the suggestion that this wing was open on the south and west, at least that part of it which lies beyond the second transverse wall. In this case it was rather a portico than an enclosed room. The

<sup>1</sup> MÜLLER, *Bühnenalterthümer*, p. 38, n. 2; *Papers of the American School* Vol. v, p. 14.

shallow and weak foundations lend further probability to this suggestion. If this is true, the large base supported the first and most imposing of the long series of monuments described in the next paragraph. Lastly, in this wing lies the peculiar structure found in 1891, considerably below the level of the other remains. Its purpose is still unexplained. The hypothesis advanced by Mr. Fossum (see p. 87), that "here may have been ramps ascending to the proscenium, side by side with the parodos into the orchestra, as at Sicyon and Epidaurus," must be rejected. In the first place the parallel walls are too close together (width 0.46 m.) Besides, the conditions at Eretria are entirely different from those at Epidaurus and at Sicyon. The level of the scena (or proscenium) is reached from the outside without the need of ramps or steps. Ramps were necessary only when the scena or proscenium was elevated above the surrounding ground.

*The stylobate.* Westward from the southwest corner of the west wing extends in an oblique direction a stylobate of poros 20 m. long and 1.20 m. wide. Standing upon this foundation at irregular intervals were found four marble bases of various size and workmanship (D D D). That these bases were for the support of columns is shown by the fact that all but one have circular sinkings in the centre, from one of which a fragment of an unfluted column still projects. No two of these bases are alike. Three others lie beyond the stylobate, resting on the earth, but *in situ*, forming a line that curves gradually to the north as if to encircle the cavea. Still another was found north of the stylobate, but it probably rested upon it originally. The last of the series is also the largest, 1.28 m. square at the bottom, continuing, after an inset, .91 m. square. Some of the other bases may also have borne square pillars. It is clear that here was no stoa, which we had expected to find, but a series of commemorative monuments and *ἀναθήματα* belonging to the theatre precinct. Fragments of choregic inscriptions found here place this beyond doubt. Many fragments of unfluted monolithic marble columns were found between the stylobate and the theatre, but they varied in size and could not have belonged to a colonnade. A very large shaft of this kind was found lying in such a position as to suggest that it had fallen from the cavea. It may have belonged to the doorway

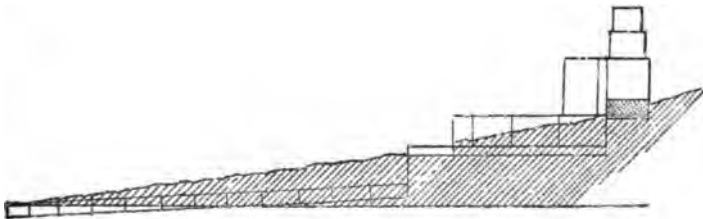
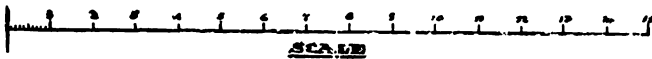
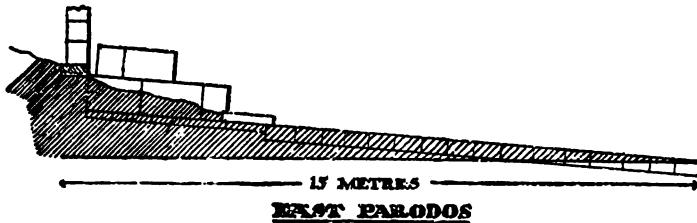
of the upper entrance to the auditorium, set in the *ἀνάλημμα*. A number of copper coins, fragments of capitals, mouldings, and architectural terracotta fragments were also found here.

*The παράδοι.* The wall of the west parodos was uncovered, but not the parodos itself. The wall is not so well preserved as that of the east parodos, which was excavated in the spring of 1892. Hence it will be necessary to mention the most interesting characteristics of the latter in order to illustrate and explain the former.

The east parodos is 4.80 m. wide at the end next to the orchestra. The parodos wall was of marble slabs, neatly dressed and joined, resting on a foundation of poros. The marble blocks are in position only toward the outer entrance. The poros foundations are laid on an incline, as is the *ἀνάλημμα* opposite. Three meters from the entrance a marble sill 1.25 m. wide is still in position. It is dressed only on the upper edge, the rest having been covered by the earth of the floor of the parodos. The floor level at the sill is 1.25 m. above the orchestra. From the sill to the entrance the former earth-line may be distinctly traced on the marble, which is dressed only above this line. This rough line slopes upward from the sill to the cross-wall against which the parodos wall abuts, just reaching the level of the flat foundation stone of the former. This stone projects a little into the parodos, and shows a rough end, as if it had been broken off. It may have been a sill which lay at the entrance of the parodos. At any rate the original floor of the parodos at this point reached the level of this stone, which is 1.70 m. above the orchestra—a very considerable incline in a parodos 15 m. long. The original level of the ground east of the theatre cannot be ascertained, but it was probably not much higher than this.

The west parodos exhibits the same general characteristics. The poros foundation is preserved and several meters of the marble front. The foundation is not continuous, however, but stops 5.65 m. from the entrance, continuing .80 m. higher up. No sill was found in this wall, but it undoubtedly existed where this break occurs. From this point on, the slanting rough line on the marble is as distinctly marked as on the other side. Where it ends, the foundation stone of the cross-wall extended some .60 m.

into the parodos, but was cut away by the workmen, who thought it to be the layer of hard lime encountered around the temple. The level of the parodos floor at the entrance was 1.81 m. above the orchestra—a little higher than in the east parodos. The level of the ground outside is given by the stylobate—about 3.45 m. above the orchestra. If the same grade was continued, the parodos reached the outer level about half way down the stylobate. No traces of a door at the entrance to the parodos were found. In the accompanying plans I have indicated the earth-line on the face of the wall, the sills in the wall itself, and the inclination of the parodoi from the bend beyond the proscenium.



**WEST PARODOS**

THE EAST AND WEST PARODOI.

These sloping parodoi confirm the explanation given by Mr. Fossum and Dr. Dörpfeld of the peculiar construction of this theatre. At the time of the old scena (fifth or fourth century) the spectators sat or stood on the almost level ground to the north. When the theatre was rebuilt the scena was left standing but enlarged, and the orchestra was hollowed out, furnishing the earth for the mound of the auditorium. The only alternative was

to haul the necessary earth from a distance, as at Mantinea, or to construct the auditorium of solid masonry. The existence of the temple near by precluded the removal of the theatre to the slope of the acropolis. The result was not only the sloping parodoi, but the elevation of the scena-building 3.46 m. above the orchestra. This would have been avoided only by the excavation to the same depth of the ground under the scena-building, which would have been costly and in many ways inconvenient. The result of this peculiar construction was that the chorus had to make a descent from their dressing-rooms before they could appear in the orchestra. What means were provided for this descent?

*Means of communication between scena and orchestra.* After the excavations of the first season the only connection that appeared between the dressing-rooms and the orchestra was the large vaulted passage under the scena. It was quite natural that this peculiar arrangement should be explained by the necessity of a means of communication between the upper and lower levels. Mr. Fossum, it is true, claimed that this was the simplest solution of the problem, the only other alternative being a flight of steps over the face of the proscenium, which was rightly rejected as impossible. But doubtless no one who has seen the theatre has been fully satisfied either with this explanation of the purpose of the huge and carefully built passage, or with the theory that the architect of the theatre consulted so little the convenience of the persons for whom he was building. For the entrance to the passage lies outside of the scena.<sup>2</sup> It would have been necessary for the chorus,<sup>3</sup> after donning their costumes, to leave the scena altogether, and, if their entrance was to be made from the parodos, to encircle the scena to the right or to the left; otherwise (the rare occurrence) to descend the steps back of the scena, pass through the passage, and appear through the central door of the proscenium. This is hardly conceivable. The purpose of the vaulted passage must receive another explanation. I can only suggest that it may have been used for the *πομπή* of priests,

<sup>2</sup> This objection was pointed out by Mr. Gardner, *J. H. S.* 1892-3, p. 146, and by Mr. Loring, *J. H. S.*, Supplement 1, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Although this passage may have been constructed after the fourth century, there was just as much need as ever of providing for the chorus in tragedy and the satyr-drama.

choregi, public officials, actors, and choruses, who entered the theatre in pomp and circumstance at the festivals after the sacrifice at the altar.

The doors in the *parodoi* suggest what is at once the simplest, and, in my opinion, the actual solution of the main question. These doors provided for the entrance of the actors from the sides. But, for those who refuse to accept Dr. Dörpfeld's theory of the stage, they have no significance whatever unless they were to be used by the chorus for a like purpose. Hence there must have been corresponding doors in the front walls of the two wings. It will be seen that by such an arrangement the descent of 3.46 m. was made perfectly convenient even for buskined feet. By means of the sloping *parodoi* about 1.25 m. of this descent was accomplished. An equal amount could have been made by ramps in the wings sloping in the opposite direction and the balance by ramps or steps in the space between the parallel walls. Or, on the other hand, the whole remaining descent of something over 2 m. could have been accomplished by flights of steps in the wings or between the parallel walls. Further excavation might throw light on this question. Meanwhile it can hardly be doubted that in one of the two ways suggested provision was made for the descent of the *choreutae* from the dressing-rooms to the *parodoi* without the necessity of their going out of the building. On the comparatively rare occasions of their entrance from the central door (which, by the way, was utterly impossible in this theatre if the *proscenium* was a stage), the latter half of the descent was made between the parallel walls instead of in the *parodoi*.

*The Eretrian Theatre and the Stage Question.* So far I have avoided as far as possible all controverted points in the interpretation of this theatre, which has been called into evidence by both parties to the controversy concerning the elevated stage. I should not now go beyond the strict requirements of my report of the recent excavations had not the fairness of Mr. Fossum's report been called in question by Mr. Gardner (*J. H. S.* 1892-3, p. 146). He objects that Mr. Fossum, in his zeal to defend the new theory, entirely overlooked the fact that the elevated *scena*, opening directly upon the *proscenium* without a change of level, was a

strong argument for the use of the proscenium as a stage for actors. But Mr. Gardner seems to have entirely overlooked the fact that the chorus of fifteen persons had to descend to the lower level in any case. The descent of three additional persons involved no greater difficulty. One might as well bring against the old view the objection that the actors would have had to ascend from the dressing-rooms, which in most theatres were not elevated above the orchestra, to the high proscenium. The elevated scena at Eretria, therefore, can give no comfort to either party. On the other hand the tunnel in the orchestra gives an unanswerable argument for the appearance of actors in the orchestra. This argument cannot be set aside by showing how easy it would have been for actors to appear on top of the proscenium, nor by referring to the uncertainty as regards the date of its construction.<sup>4</sup> It was built before the stone proscenium and its structure points to a good Greek period.<sup>5</sup> It may be assigned with probability to the period of the reconstruction of the theatre. It need not excite surprise that the orchestra should still have been used by actors down to (perhaps) the Christian era. The only reason for the elevation of the stage in Roman times was the necessity of using the inner half of the orchestra for seating purposes. This necessity seems never to have arisen at Eretria.<sup>6</sup> Therefore the orchestra remained the most suitable place for the performance of both actors and chorus. When the Roman stage appeared it was made deep enough to accommodate the chorus as well as the actors. There is no reason to believe that the two classes of players were ever separated by a difference of level in the Greek theatre any more than in the Roman.

Returning once more to the tunnel, it must be accepted as evidence that actors appeared in the orchestra in Eretria at a period

<sup>4</sup> WEISSMANN, *Die scenische Aufführung der griechischen Dramen des 5. Jahrhunderts*, p. 11, says: "Man ist einerseits über die Zeit der Entstehung desselben nicht einig." But, so far as I know, Dr. Dörpfeld alone has expressed an authoritative opinion on the subject.

<sup>5</sup> So Dr. Dörpfeld, as quoted above, p. 100. Fossum's dating of the stone proscenium in the first century B. C. is of course entirely conjectural. See above, p. 87.

<sup>6</sup> I judge from the fact alone that a low Roman stage was never erected here. This would not prevent the erection of a row of thrones on the level of the orchestra, as at Oropos, and, probably, at Eretria. See Mr. Brownson's report, above, p. 98.

possibly not far removed from the age of Vitruvius, at a time when a Vitruvian proscenium, whether of wood or of stone, was standing. Fortunately this tunnel cannot be explained away as having been used for drainage purposes<sup>7</sup> or for gladiatorial exhibitions. The objection has been made,<sup>8</sup> it is true, that it cannot be proved that this tunnel was ever used in connection with dramatic performances. Neither can it be proved that this proscenium, the scena, the theatre itself, were ever used for dramatic performances. But the presumption in this case amounts to a certainty. The burden of proof lies heavily on him who challenges the position taken by Mr. Brownson<sup>9</sup> in the official report of this discovery (given above, pp. 89 ff.). The tunnels found at Sicyon, Magnesia, and Tralles, considered separately, might with some reason have been considered doubtful evidence; but supported by the structure at Eretria, which is in perfect preservation and whose purpose is clear, they should be accepted as the solution of a problem for whose answer archæologists and students of the Greek drama had long been waiting.

EDWARD CAPPS.

<sup>7</sup> Dumon, *Le Logeion*, Paris, 1894, p. 18.; cf. OEHMICHEN, *W. f. kl. Phil.*, 1892, col. 1141.

<sup>8</sup> By Dr. Earle, in a paper an abstract of which is found in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Arch. Inst. of America*, p. 61, (1892-3.)

<sup>9</sup> Apart from the extremely improbable suggestion that this tunnel may have served as the cave in the *Cyclops* and *Philoctetes*, *l. c.* p. 278. The most significant passage from the dramas for the illustration of the use of the tunnel by actors is frag. 227 (NAUCK) of the *Sisyphus* of Aeschylus, first pointed out by Wecklein.



EXCAVATIONS IN THE ERETRIAN THEATRE  
IN 1895.

[PLATES XIII, XIV, XV.]

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The first excavations made by the American School in the theatre at Eretria were in February and March, 1891.<sup>1</sup> At that time the *skene* was uncovered, the stylobate of the *proskenion*, the eastern half of the rim of the orchestra and part of the adjacent canal. A trench also was run from the centre of the orchestra to the middle point of the *cavea*, and was prolonged enough to show that the seats there had been largely destroyed. Some seats adjacent to the east *parodos* were laid bare, and the direction and width of the *parodos* determined. The arched passage under the *skene* and the subterranean passage in the orchestra were freed from the accumulated earth. In the following year<sup>2</sup> (January, 1892) the eastern half of the orchestra was cleared, its true diameter ascertained, seven rows of seats laid bare for several metres in the eastern part of the *cavea*, and the east *parodos* dug out, on the same level as the orchestra, as far as the end of the *paraskenion*. In May, 1894, further excavations were undertaken.<sup>3</sup> The extreme west part of the *skene* was uncovered, a long row of bases of choragic monuments on a common stylobate discovered still further west, and the west *parodos*-wall made out, though the *parodos* itself was not touched.

<sup>1</sup> See preceding articles, pp. 76-103, reports by Messrs. FOSSUM and BROWNSON, with plan (Plate IV) by Mr. FOSSUM.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Eleventh Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the Am. School of Class. Studies at Athens* (1891-92), p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> See preceding article, pp. 135-143, and thereto Plate XII, report of Mr. CAPPS.

The present report is a statement of the work carried on from May 20 to June 15, 1895, under the direction of Professor R. B. Richardson, Director of the American School, assisted by the writer. The campaign, in brief, was devoted to the clearing out of the rest of the orchestra, the laying bare of seven rows of seats around the entire *cavea*, the cutting through of the east *parodos* in its whole extent, of the west *parodos* for twenty-two metres, and the excavation of the two *paraskenia*. Two things still remaining to be done are the determination of the length of the *analemmata* and an investigation of the outer side of the *cavea* with a view to seeing whether a supporting wall ever existed there.

We shall take up the several parts of the work of 1895 in the following order: (1) the *cavea*; (2) the canal; (3) the orchestra; (4) the *parodoi*; (5) the *paraskenia*; (6) miscellaneous finds.

#### I. THE CAVEA.

The seven lower rows of seats had already been excavated on the east side. We completed their excavation around the entire *cavea* and found the bottom row almost perfectly preserved, probably because it came early under the earth. The second row is in fair preservation. In the rows above the second, many of the stones are very badly worn—the poros was so soft and friable, especially when lightly covered and exposed to dampness and the disintegrating influences of the roots of grass and bushes. The material was poor anyway, and frequent repairs necessary, as the varying profiles of the seats clearly show. The fact that each several row is not on a stone substructure, but imbedded by itself in the earth, with earth as the place for the spectators' feet, explains how easily the stones could be thrown out of alignment.

How many of the seats are preserved above the seventh row cannot be exactly stated without complete excavation. At various points just below the top of the *cavea* seat-blocks can be seen *in situ*, while just above the seventh row—say from the eighth to the fourteenth rows, the earth is mostly so shallow as to make it seem probable that the seats are entirely gone. In one section we know this to be the case, for in the third *kerkis*, counting from the west end, wishing to find traces of a *diazoma*, if there

were any, a trench 2 m. wide was dug in a place free from bushes up from the seventh row toward some seats which appeared to be *in situ* near the top of the *cavea*. The first row of these was reached at a distance of 11.40 m. above the seventh row, the second at 12.60 m. In the whole length of the trench, except fragments of poros from disintegrated seats, nothing was found, though the trench was dug five feet deep. Thus no *diazoma* was established, and with a *cavea* as low as this there is no compelling necessity for any. For other trenches time failed.

Mention was made in the report of the excavations of 1891<sup>4</sup> of the ruinous condition of the seats above the first row in the middle of the *cavea*, but it now appears that the excavators examined the very worst-preserved portion of all. Immediately on each side of their trench the seats are more destroyed than in any other section, and it is not impossible that at a late period the poros-seats there were removed to make room for a platform large enough for several thrones—something like the emperor's box in the Dionysus-theatre at Athens. Certain foundations rather point to this, and to such a structure could be assigned the large marble slab referred to by Mr. Brownson.<sup>5</sup>

In the middle of the fourth *kerkis*, counting from the east end, in the second row of seats, which was cut away to receive it, was found a marble block (FIGURE 1), its top placed on a level with the top of the first row of seats. Part of the upper surface is raised above the remainder and is rougher, evidently prepared to have something rest upon it. It is undoubtedly the basis for the throne of some official connected with the theatre, though the throne-fragments found cannot fit it, and must be placed elsewhere. Similarly, in the fifth *kerkis* the second row is cut for such a block, but the block itself is missing. Mr. Brownson<sup>6</sup> computed the number of *kerkides* as eleven, with twelve stairways, which is correct. At the bottom step the average

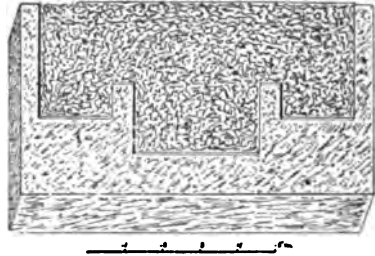


FIG. 1.—ERETRIA THEATRE.  
MARBLE BASIS.

<sup>4</sup> BROWNSON'S report, p. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

width of a *kerkis* is 3.28 m., of a stairway 0.91 m. On the west side, at the foot of the *analemma*, there is no *stete*-basis to correspond with that on the east side.

The slope of the *cavea* is about 20° 30' above the horizontal.

## II. THE CANAL.

The canal around the west half of the orchestra is the exact counterpart of that on the east, and there is a similar exit for the water, which flowed from the middle point of the canal in either direction. The drain which receives the water from the canal probably passes under the *skene*, but lack of time precluded an investigation of it.

Mr. Brownson,<sup>7</sup> in his report, mentions "three ill-made and ruinous cross-walls" in this canal, and surmises that they probably served to support a later flooring over the canal. The third of these walls, mentioned as extending but half-way across, had disappeared before we began to excavate. The second was found to go but three-fifths of the way across, and both it and the first displayed the familiar profile of theatre-seats. There were no cross-walls whatever found in the west half of the canal. As supports for a flooring of either wood or stone they should run lengthwise and not across the canal. Further, neither the orchestra-rim nor the broad step opposite shows any cutting for the reception of a flooring, and we certainly cannot think of one simply resting on the rim and step. There is no compelling reason to suppose the canal covered over and its usefulness as water-channel and passage-way impaired in order to provide places for thrones, when these could, as in Oropus, be placed in the orchestra or on a special platform. These walls, if they can be called walls, must certainly belong to some very late period, when the theatre was no longer used for its original purposes.

The outside of the orchestra-rim, *i. e.*, that forming a side of the canal, was stuccoed. Two or three layers are visible, and were painted in dark green and red on the white ground. The design is of vine-leaves and bunches of grapes—certainly a fitting one for a theatre. The colors were not visible when

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 90, 97.

the rim was first excavated, but needed the cleansing of rain and air to bring them out and render it possible to distinguish them.

### III. THE ORCHESTRA.

The orchestra was not paved with stone.<sup>8</sup> This is made certain by the fact that no paving blocks were found, by the shape of the top of the rim bounding the orchestra, and by the existence in places of a peculiar pavement, made of lime laid on in a coating 0.01 m. to 0.02 m. thick.<sup>9</sup> Traces of it were found (1) in the lower end of the east *parodos*, (2) in the orchestra near by in front of the *proskenion*, (3) correspondingly in the west *parodos*, and (4) on the west side of the orchestra opposite the first stairway, near the step. Careful search failed to show any in the western half of the orchestra in general, while part of the eastern half had been dug too deep in 1892 to afford any hope of finding it there. It undoubtedly once existed all over, but gradually wore away or was destroyed in the later repairs. Where it appears it represents an ancient *patoma*, which is shown by levelings to be that of the second period, the period of the construction of the Charonian stairs and of the *cavea* and orchestra in general. In the last period, that of the permanent marble *proskenion*, the orchestra was higher.<sup>10</sup> This is proved by the stylobate, where some of the stones are unworked on the lower part of their face, showing that this was covered, whereas the level of the lime pavement lies 0.19 m. below the top of the stylobate and about 0.12 m. below the orchestra-level of the last period. The *proskenion*-stylobate is 0.32 m. above the rim of the orchestra. There was, then, in the period of the lime-*patoma*, a slope from *proskenion* to the limit of orchestra of about 0.13 m., which in the last period was increased to 0.25 m. This slope, when compared with the whole diameter of the orchestra, is so slight that the dance-movements would not be in the slightest degree affected, and it would scarcely be visible to the eye, while yet assisting drainage and helping—though in a small degree, to be sure—to raise the persons in the *skene*-half of the orchestra above those in the *cavea*-half.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>9</sup>In the inscription relative to the theatre in Delos, quoted in *BCH.* xviii (1894), p. 163 bot., the words *τὴν ὀρχήστραν τοῦ θεάτρου καταχρῆσαι* seem to refer to a process of this kind.

<sup>10</sup>Fossu's report, p. 88.

*Masons' Marks on Rim of Orchestra.* On the inside of the rim surrounding half of the orchestra are sundry masons' marks, here reproduced. Counting from the east end, the 1st, 2d, 3d, 7th, 10th,

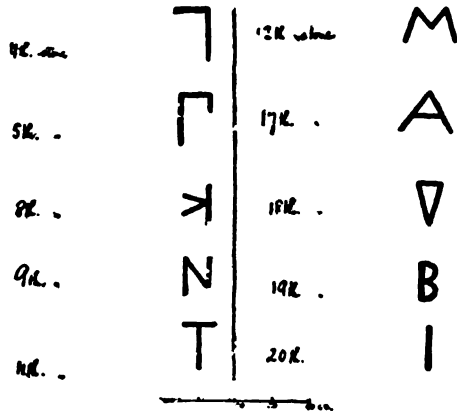


FIG. 2.—ERETRIA THEATRE. MASONS' MARKS ON RIM OF ORCHESTRA.

18th, 14th, 15th, 21st and 22d stones, which form the half-circle, have no marks; the 6th and 16th stones have cuttings (or natural breaks) but these are not intelligible as letters; the remaining stones have letters distributed as represented in FIGURE 2. It will be noticed that about half of the stones bear no marks, and that the rest are not arranged to bring the letters in alphabetic order. This suggests that the stones are not in the order in which they were originally put, and it is probable that originally the alphabetic order was that of the stones, and that at a later period repairs were instituted in the orchestra-rim which threw out many of the marked stones, replacing them by unmarked, and re-arranged those still remaining of the old lot. The shape of the stones is such that they can belong only in the position where they now are, forming one side of the canal, so that the lettered stones probably date from the earliest period of the lowered orchestra. It is certain that masons' marks of this sort cannot be judged by the same criteria for date as the letters of a decree or on a *grave-stele*. The tendency would be to preserve older forms. The  $\nu$  and the  $\mu$  have quite an ancient look, but can hardly date the theatre more closely than the arguments from other sources. They cannot be later than the latter half of the fourth century.

Before leaving the subject of the orchestra it is proper to state, for the benefit of future visitors to Eretria, that the marble slab covering the "vesica-shaped aperture"<sup>11</sup> in the tunnel under the orchestra is not *in situ*, but was put where it is by us. I believe that this hole is meant to afford entrance from below into the orchestra back of the centre when a play required it. It could easily have been reached by a temporary ladder in the tunnel. Further, the stone placed upright at the top of the stairs in the centre of the orchestra where they are broken was put there by us to prevent the entrance from filling up.

#### IV. THE PARODOI.

Mr. Capps<sup>12</sup> has discussed these and given the explanation of their slope, which is less than that at Oropus, and more than that at Megalopolis. The east *parodos* had been excavated in 1892 without bearing the fact of the slope sufficiently in mind, so that our first task was to partly fill it up, both in order to restore the proper level and in order to get a road for our carts from the orchestra. The true slope, which is about 5° 30' from the horizontal, was determined in three ways: (a) by the slope of the courses of the *analemma*, which is the same as the slope of the *parodos*; (b) by the existence of a sill *in situ* in the front wall of the *paraskenion*, 1.25 m. above the orchestra-level, and which must be for a door from the *parodos*, thus giving a fixed point in the slope; (c) by the fact that beyond this door the wall of the *parodos* is worked smooth above a certain slanting line, all below the line being left rough, since it was under the earth and not visible. The slope of the west *parodos* was similarly determined.

The great mass of earth of the *cavea* exerted continually a lateral thrust upon the *analemmata* until, probably aided by earthquakes, they were in time precipitated into the *parodoi*, while at the same time the front walls of the *paraskenia* suffered a similar fate. A good many seat-blocks from the upper part of the *cavea* also fell in. The result was that the *parodoi* were filled with a confused mass of large blocks of stone which rendered excavation extremely difficult. Four courses, each 0.45 m. high, are the most that are *in situ* in either *analemma* above the surface of the *parodos*.

<sup>11</sup> BROWNSON'S report, p. 100.

<sup>12</sup> CAPPS'S report, p. 139.

In front of the *analemmata*, commencing in the east *parodos* 14.25 m. from the foot of the *analemma*, in the west *parodos* 10.50 m., are poros foundations having the same slope as the *analemmata*. On these foundations there remains in some places a second course of *orthostatai*, 0.65 m. high and 0.45 m. wide. We may assume that once other courses were above these, the whole serving as a supporting, strengthening wall to an *analemma* which showed signs of caving in.

In each *parodos* at a point opposite the respective end-walls of the *paraskenia* are traces of buttresses to the *analemmata* 0.63 m. wide and extending 0.63 m. (0.60 m.) into the *parodoi*. In the east *parodos* the lowest visible stone of the buttress is cut down and prolonged half-way across the *parodos*. In the west *parodos* the corresponding stone is separate from the buttress and is wider. Such buttresses and such stones in the surface of the *parodoi* look like the *parastades* and sills of doors. This is a natural place for doors in the *parodoi*—opposite the ends of the prolongations of the *proskenion*, and this is the arrangement at Epidaurus. What are the indications for other *parastades* across the *parodoi*? The marble fronts of the *paraskenia* do not extend to the end of the walls, but stop at the intersection of the front and end-walls. In the end-wall projecting into the east *parodos* there is a stone which is rough as if broken off,<sup>13</sup> and in the west *parodos* a corresponding stone which projected some 0.60 m. into the *parodos* was cut away through the mistake of a workman.<sup>14</sup> It cannot be a sill: it is a metre above the *parodos*-level at that point. It indicates rather that the end-walls were prolonged beyond the marble front in *parastades*. With two *parastades* and a sill a door is established. A sill across the whole doorway is not essential. No architectural members were found which could be assigned to the doors, so that their reconstruction must be based on a comparison with those in other theatres—Epidaurus, for example.

In digging in the west *parodos* at about 0.60 m. to 0.70 m. above the ancient level, there was noticed a thick layer of marble chips. This is interesting as showing the level here at the time

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>14</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 139.



when the work of destruction of the marble parts of the theatre was carried on for the lime-kilns, one of which was cut in the *cavea* itself, near the east *parodos*.

#### V. THE PARASKENIA (PLATES XIII, XIV, XV).

In the first period of the theatre the *paraskenia* were two tower-like projections from the *skene*.<sup>15</sup> When, in the second period, the orchestra was moved north and lowered, we may suppose that new *paraskenia* were built out from the *scaenae frons*, but their exact size and shape is uncertain, for the reason that the plan of the present *paraskenia* shows only one period, and that a later one. They may have coincided with the present plan, or they may have more resembled the old. The fact that the completed circle of the orchestra is some distance from the *proskenion* makes it seem probable that they projected further then than now.

In the theatre as excavated the *paraskenia* are long narrow rooms (cf. PLATE XXIII, *ABCDEF*, *A'B'C'D'E'F'*) which bound the *parodoi* on one side. Their front-walls<sup>16</sup> are of marble and for 3.85 m. (*AB*, *A'B'*) are a prolongation of the marble *proskenion*. Then an oblique angle is made and the walls (*BC*, *B'C'*) run some 14.80 m. along the *parodoi*, gradually approaching the *analemmata*. The back-walls, 2.30 m. to 2.50 m. distant, are parallel with the front, and are a continuation of the *scaenae frons*. The end-walls (*CD*, *C'D'*) are of poorer material than the others, and do not go down even to the floor level. This was no great weakness, as all the thrust of the roof came upon the side-walls. It seems not impossible that the *paraskenia* once extended further than at present. The end-walls certainly seem later than either front or back-walls.

About four metres from the outer ends of the *paraskenia* are doors, already mentioned, opening into the *parodoi*. The marble sill of that in the east *paraskenion* is still *in situ*, 0.95 m. above the *proskenion*-stylobate. In the west *paraskenion* the marble has disappeared and a block of poros is in its place. These sills give the floor level of the *paraskenia* at these points. Another point is

<sup>15</sup> Fossum's report, p. 82.

<sup>16</sup> The poros foundations of these are not laid on an incline, as stated in Mr. Capps's report, p. 138.

got by the height of the cross-walls  $AF, A'F'$ . That on the east is 0.28 m. above the *proskenion*-stylobate; that on the west a trifle less. The floors of the *paraskenia* must have had an upward incline, for in the east *paraskenion*, starting from the cross-wall mentioned, a ledge runs with a slope upward along the back-wall, and where it ceases its line is continued, indicated by the different surface of the stone above and below. The ledge arose as follows. When the new upper part of the *scaenae frons* (hatched as "Late Wall—Good" on PLAN) was built on the old foundation, since it was not so thick as the wall it replaced, the prolongations of the latter in the back-walls of the *paraskenia* projected beyond the new wall. To remove this blemish the faces of these back-walls were cut down until they corresponded to the new front line. This was naturally done only down to the floor-level, below which the wall was left intact, forming the edge mentioned. In the west *paraskenion* there is no ledge, but, as in the east, a thick layer of roof-tiles and *antefixae* shows where the floor was. Above the roof-tiles were blocks from the walls, *i. e.*, the roof fell first and the walls caved in on top. Below the cross-walls a step led to the level prevailing back of the *proskenion*, which level in the period of the marble *proskenion* was above that of the earlier period, just as the orchestra was higher.

The height of the *paraskenia* is the next problem. That the *proskenion* was Doric was determined by the excavators of 1891.<sup>17</sup> A fragment of one of the columns shows that the visible front part was channeled, while the back was left simply rounded, and on each side a segment was cut off so as to make a flat surface for the attachment of the *pinakes*. Among the finds of 1895 was a triglyph of bluish marble 0.20 m. wide and 0.31 m. high, with a bit of metope on either side. The evidently corresponding Doric *geisa* have mutules 0.204 m. long, with a distance of 0.048 m. between them. From these we make out the combined width of triglyph and metope as 0.504 m., three times which is 1.512 m., or just the axial distance of the columns of the *proskenion*,<sup>18</sup> which proves that the triglyph and the *geisa* come from the *proskenion*. There were, accordingly, between each pair of columns two

<sup>17</sup> Fossum's report, p. 87.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

triglyphs and three metopes. In the theatre at Athens there were one triglyph and two metopes; at Oropus there were three triglyphs and four metopes.

Mr. Fossum,<sup>19</sup> finding an Ionic cornice which had an angle equal to that at *B*, surmised that the Doric *proskenion* was continued on the sides in the Ionic order. But this juxtaposition of Doric and Ionic is, I believe, elsewhere unknown. The object of the change of order would be to obtain for the *paraskenia* a greater height than was possible with the Doric system unless its proportions were unduly increased. Suppose that the Ionic order was used in this way. Its slenderer proportions would bring the *paraskenia*, as far as any calculations from the few remaining fragments can be made, well above the *proskenion*; but looked at from the outside they would present what is an impossibility in a building of this kind—a tiled roof a trifle over two metres above the ground. Difficulties also arise if one can prove a direct communication between the *paraskenia* and the late wings of the *skene*. The only reason for having the *paraskenia* higher than the *proskenion* is to gain head-room inside. We must see if this is necessary. If found unnecessary this must be counted as a point against it. The height of the *proskenion* has been usually taken at 3.40 m.,<sup>20</sup> and a place to test the possibility of the prolongation of the Doric order at this height in the *paraskenia* is furnished by the doors already mentioned which lead from the *paraskenia* into the *parodoi*. The sill of the door in the east *paraskenion*, as was stated above, is 0.95 m. above the *proskenion*-stylobate. Deducting this from 3.40 m. and deducting also the height of cornice, etc., we have remaining somewhat less than two metres, just enough room for a door. The very fact that the door is placed where it is rather implies that the above is true. They put the door as far out as was possible and yet have head-room. The natural place would be still further up the *parodos*, but the slope prevented this being done.

The cornice-block with the angle must be assigned somewhere, and there are two places where it can go, either on the front wall of a second story of the *skene*, or, if there was no second story, on the back-wall at the angle *E*, at a height such as to make a

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

decorative background in connection with the *scaenae frons*. A second story of the *paraskenia* is, however, required, for the tile-fragments found in them show that the roofs were so covered, and roofs of tiles at the level of the ground are impossible. If there was a second story, the Ionic order is necessary in order to gain the requisite height without having unduly heavy columns.

The most reasonable supposition accordingly is that the *paraskenia*, like *stoae* in various parts of Greece, were essentially Doric in their lower story, that the ceiling of this was on the same level as, and a continuation of, the *podium* of the *proskenion*; and that there was a second story, Ionic in order, with half columns in its front wall, and with roof at a level to suit the *skene*. From this upper story there was immediate access to the *podium* of the *proskenion*, and to it one passed from the ground-level outside by means of doors in the ends, or from the wings of the *skene* through doors in the back-walls.

Mr. Capps<sup>21</sup> advocates a means of communication between *skene* and *paradoi*, *viâ* the wings of the *skene* and the *paraskenia*. The excavations of 1895 showed that any such thing in the wings was out of the question. These belong wholly to the upper level. If there were stairs or ramps they must be in the *paraskenia*. Ramps I think are excluded because of the steep gradient which would be necessary on account of the limited room. If there were stairs, wood was a more natural material than stone, as occupying less space, and if wooden, they have long since rotted away. Nothing appeared to decide definitely either for or against them, though certain stones in the west *paraskenion* (*G* on PLAN), 0.45 m. above the poros block replacing the door-sill, can be explained as something on which a wooden flight of stairs rested. Perhaps the cutting in the top of the back-wall near by has also some significance in this connection. Similar stones fail entirely in the east *paraskenion*.

One of the points to be observed in the construction of dressing-rooms for the actors was their ready accessibility, as the changes of costume had often to be made very quickly. In the later periods of the theatre at Eretria, the space between the *proskenion* and the *scaenae frons*, and especially the two *paraskenia*, were of a

<sup>21</sup> See his report, p. 141.

size fully sufficient for dressing-rooms, and to one who rejects the old view of a raised stage seem particularly suited for this, as being in such immediate connection with the orchestra. Another room which could easily have supplemented those already mentioned in their dressing-room use is the much-discussed tunnel under the *skene*, and it may very well be that this was in part the purpose of its construction. The view which makes this a direct passageway for sacred processions from the neighboring temple, seems to me completely untenable. It were, surely, no very great hardship to ask the priests and their followers to proceed a hundred feet or so further and enter by the east *parodos*, whose easy slope afforded far more opportunity for dignity and pomp. For them to gather up their trailing robes and clamber down the steep steps into the tunnel<sup>22</sup> and file out one by one through a narrow door into the orchestra, would rob the procession of its chief virtue and turns the whole thing into a farce. Perhaps the chorus, freed from the necessity of frequent changes of costume, still used through all periods the *skene*, or they too may have dressed themselves below, while the *skene* was devoted to the storage of stage-properties not wanted for the immediate occasion.

But the use as green-rooms was not the only purpose of the *paraskenia*. There was another object in their making which is certain, whereas the former is but probable. There were many occasions<sup>23</sup> where plays require that an actor enter from the *parodos*, the common place of entrance for the chorus. It was, of course, perfectly possible at all times for persons to come from outside the *skene* down the full length of either *parodos*, but scenic illusion was accomplished sufficiently if access to the *parodos* was gained part way down its descent, while the convenience of the actors was much better suited, if, already behind the *proskenion*, they had only to pass into either *paraskenion* and through the door into the *parodos*, than if they were compelled to go outside the *skene* and come down the whole length of the *parodos* from the level of the ground outside.

<sup>22</sup> Fossum's report, p. 85.

<sup>23</sup> Best collected and discussed by E. BODENSTEINER in *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, XIX, Supplement-band, pp. 703-721. Cf., also, pp. 680f.



## VI. MISCELLANEOUS FINDS.

Here may be mentioned a small gold ring, lost by some spectator, with curious signs on the part where it widens for a seal. Eighteen bronze coins came one by one from various parts of the theatre. They range in date from the third century B.C. to the second A.D., and are of Euboea, Boeotia, Athens, Corinth, with two or three Roman coins. A few unimportant fragments of sculpture and an insignificant piece of an inscription (No. 9 in the list of inscriptions discovered at Eretria in 1895) are all that can be noted in these classes.

In 1891 were found numerous throne-fragments.<sup>24</sup> We found a number more, and chief among them—from the west *parodos*, the back of a throne, entire, with side pieces, one attached, the other broken off but lying near the large fragment. In the shape of the back and the form of the sculptured decoration it resembles very closely the thrones in the theatre at Oropus, just across the strait, and undoubtedly in each place the period of their introduction into the theatre was the same. We may perhaps be allowed to surmise that, as in Oropus, this and similar thrones were placed in the orchestra, unless they could be given a place on the platform which perhaps existed in the middle *kerkis*.

The architectural marbles present little new beyond what was found in 1891. A marble triglyph from the *proskenion* has already been mentioned, and so have the corresponding *geisa*. In the Ionic order was found a new piece of a marble half-column with back-piece 0.41 m. square. The width of a flute is 0.051 m. and of the adjacent fillet 0.013 m. Various *geisa* and cornices were also found, but need not be mentioned severally. Many terracotta *antefixae*, nearly all broken, came from the *paraskenia* and from the *parodoi*.

This year also Ionic half-columns and capitals in poros were found, whole or in fragments, in the theatre and in the newly-discovered gymnasium. These may possibly come from the round basis now enclosed within the west wing of the *skene*, making a structure somewhat like the choragic monument of Lysicrates, without its square base. To this must belong a fragment built

<sup>24</sup> BROWNSON'S report, p. 98.

into the adjacent wall of the *skene*, a bit of roof, of poros cut to imitate overlapping tiles, which are in shape like large leaves.

THEODORE WOOLSEY HEERMANCE.

NOTE. — It gives me pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to DR. DÖRPFELD for a number of helpful suggestions.

### FRAGMENT OF A DATED PANATHENAIC AMPHORA.

In the gymnasium excavated at Eretria by the American School in May and June, 1895, north of the room where the four basins were found *in situ* (see following article, p. 166) there was a small triangular space formed by the intersection of three walls. Water-pipes ran across its floor, and at their level amidst other rubbish the vase-fragment here represented was found (FIGURE 1). Its three sides measure 0.095 m., 0.085 m. and 0.08 m. Written *κινηδόν* is the inscription *Πολέμων*. To the left of the inscription is a vertical band of black 0.01 m. to 0.013 m. in width. Practically all the paint has disappeared and the different color of the clay where the paint once stood alone permits the letters to be made out. The *κινηδόν* direction of the inscription, the size of the letters and the black band beside them make it certain that this is a fragment of a Panathenaic *amphora*, and that *Πολέμων* is the name of an *archon*, which dates it in a particular year. Above the  $\Gamma$  is visible the vertical *hasta* of another letter which we are to take as N and read [*ἄρχων*]ν *Πολέμων*.

The Panathenaic *amphorae*, whole or fragmentary, which bear *archons'* names, are fourteen in number and belong to ten several years.<sup>1</sup> This is no place to discuss these *amphorae* from the artistic standpoint, as on this side our new fragment has no data for comparison. It may, however, be worth while to note a few things about the inscriptions they bear. In three instances—in the years 333–2, 332–1, 328–7, the word *ἄρχων* precedes the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. RAYET ET COLLIGNON, *Historie de la Céramique grecque*, p. 140; URLICHS, *Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, p. 44ff; *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1877, pp. 294–332 (J. DE WITTE); *Monumenti*, x, pl. 47–48a, 48f, No. 8; *BCH*. vi, p. 168.

name; in eight—for the years 367-6, 336-5, 332-1, 324-3 (twice), 323-2, 321-0, 313-2, ἀρχων follows the name. A second vase for 336-5 has ἦρχεν following the archon's name. The two fragments of the year 347-6 do not allow the order to be determined with certainty. That the variation in order is only a variation, and is not to be taken as a positive indication of date, is shown by the occurrence in one year (332-1) of both forms, each of which is also found before and after that date. Besides this variation of order there are two important changes in the



FIG. 1.—ERETRIA GYMNASIUM. FRAGMENT OF A PANATHENAIC AMPHORA.

inscriptions of this period. The first is the use of the new alphabet in the old formula τῶν Ἀθηνέθεν ἄθλων, which remained in this form until after 336 B.C., though as far back as archons' names on amphorae extend (367 B.C.) they are always in the new alphabet. The second change was the introduction of the κιοιηδόν direction of writing, most probably in 347 B.C., as vases of that year are found with both this way and the older way of



writing along the pillar. Another way in which the inscriptions of these *amphorae* vary is in their several relations to the two pillars between which the goddess stands. Sometimes τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων is alongside the pillar to the right, sometimes alongside that on the left, the *archon*-inscription taking the unoccupied place. Most frequently the two inscriptions are on the inner sides of the two pillars, but in one case in 336 B.C., and regularly after 324 (including one vase of that year), one inscription is on the inner side of the pillar to the left (as one faces the vase), and the other is on the outer side of the right-hand pillar.

To return to our fragment. The only *archon* bearing the name of Polemon of whom we know held office in the year 312–11 B.C.<sup>2</sup> The latest of the dated *amphorae* hitherto known is of the year 313–12, so that the discovery of this fragment enables the list of dated *amphorae* to be brought one year further down than was before possible. If the custom of putting an inscription to the right of each pillar, which prevailed just previously to this date, was still followed, we are in no position to say from what part of the vase this fragment comes, for it is too small to show traces of Athena's dress, which alone could finally settle the question.

It is a matter of interest that this fragment was found at Eretria, and the place of its finding may be taken as showing that on the spot where the present gymnasium was unearthed there once stood another, an older, gymnasium, in which a victor once dedicated the prize he won at the *Panathenaia* of 312. The *Panathenaia* of 312–11, coming in the first year of the 117th Olympiad, were not the Great *Panathenaia*, which fall in the third years of the Olympiads.

THEODORE WOOLSEY HEERMANCE.

NOTE.—In the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, I, p. 215, M. MARTHA publishes a fragment (No. 3) of a Panathenaic *amphora*, but knows no fourth-century *archon* whose name would fit the remaining letters. These are ' ≤ Η, and a bit of the pillar shows below them, *i. e.*, the inscription is not κιονηδόν, but resembles those of the years 367 and 347. Is it not possible that the Η is the initial of ΗΡΧΕΝ, as in 336, and that before it we have Η ≤ as the end of the name of an *archon*? To go only into the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. DIOD. SIC. 19:77; DION. HAL., *Dinar.* 9; CIA. II, 72B l. 80.

period between 367 and 347, when we know this direction of writing prevailed, there are a number of *archons'* names which are available: 364, Timokrates; 363, Charikleides; 360, Kallimedes; 357, Agathokles; 356, Elpines; and, 347, Themistokles. Any further determination, however, is impossible.

T. W. H.

## THE GYMNASIUM AT ERETRIA.

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In the excavations at Eretria in 1895 our first object was to complete the work begun in the theatre four years earlier. In connection with this work, however, we undertook the excavation of a sufficient area about the row of large basins discovered at the foot of the acropolis in 1894, to ascertain whether they belonged to a building, and if so, to what sort of a building.

I should have preferred to break ground at a point about fifty metres further south, where a sort of terrace-wall protruded from the ground. But, as grain nearly ripe was standing all about this wall, I began at the basins, and worked out from them. On the first day we cleared enough to the west of them to ascertain that they stood backed up against the east wall of a room with a pavement of pebbles set in cement. On the south side of this room we found a doorway, and in the doorway a marble *anthemion*, a headless bust with drapery over the shoulder, and a fragment of an inscribed base. Here, then, were represented architecture, sculpture, and epigraphy—not very brilliantly to be sure, but enough so to make a hopeful beginning. We went on uncovering room after room during a period of over twenty days, laying bare an area, roughly speaking, of 100×150 feet, of which we here present a plan (FIGURE 1).

Although this building, or complex of buildings, may have extended further to the east and to the west, even on these sides it seems to have, partially at least, natural boundaries in the long continuous walls to the east and west, respectively, of our excavated area. To the north and south we have absolutely sure boundaries. To the north the slope of the acropolis has been cut away so that the face of the native rock and several courses of

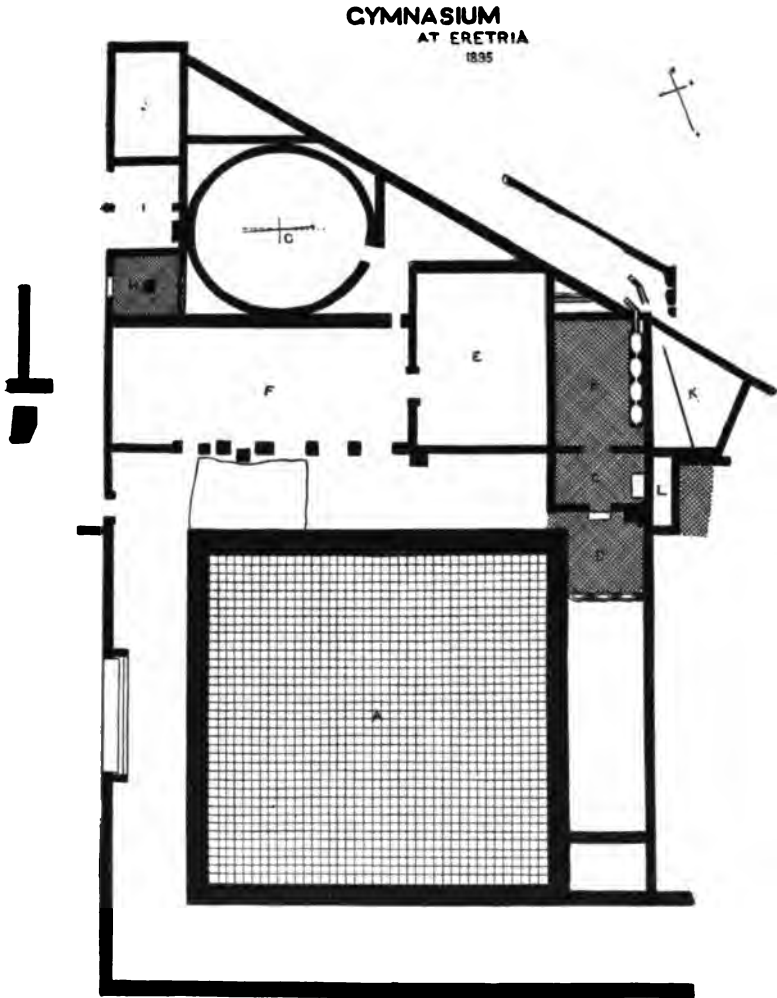


FIGURE 1.

laid stone form at the same time the north wall of this building and the retaining wall to a terrace or whatever lay to the north. On the south is another terrace-wall badly broken, but once perhaps as high as that to the north, *i. e.*, six or eight feet high. So we have a terrace on a hill-side prepared in the usual way by cutting away from the upper side and filling in at the lower side, as at Eleusis, Delphi, and elsewhere. We found no trace of steps leading from our terrace either up or down, but this is not conclusive as regards such connection with the lower level to the south, inasmuch as the terrace-wall on that side, being much exposed, was considerably broken away.

By our method of beginning, not knowing exactly in what direction we were likely to proceed, we were led to throw the earth from the rooms nearest the basins upon the southern part of the building, which, before that addition, had been covered by only about two feet of earth. Through this difficulty of our own making we were obliged in the end to leave a part of the building still covered. But we followed up the lines of wall sufficiently to secure the ground-plan of the whole. Of this whole, the longest part was the square *A* with the long and narrow spaces surrounding it. *A* was probably an open court surrounded by colonnades. No roof-tiles were found in it, which was true of no other space excavated. The enclosing wall of *A* is thick enough (1.30 m.) to be a stylobate for columns, which is not the case with any of the other walls about it. That no traces of columns should appear is not surprising. There was probably another course to this wall. The surface of what now remains is lower by 0.20 m. than the tile-flooring of the space just to the north of the square. This part is not unlike the palaestra at Olympia, only a good deal smaller. We have here, in fact, the simplest form of a gymnasium, containing the bare essentials — an open space for exercising and porches or rooms about it for retiring. But the proof that what we have found is actually a gymnasium or a part of a gymnasium, is not drawn from this form. The idea which we had conceived before we got beyond the first room with the basins, that we were in a gymnasium, was indeed much strengthened by the discovery of this court. But it was the gymnastic inscriptions, one surely *in situ*, and another contain-

ing the prescription that it be set up in the gymnasium, which lifted the matter beyond the range of doubt. We have thus made another advance in the topography of Eretria, moving on with no Pausanias to guide us. In the work of the previous year we discovered the very substantial and regular foundations of a temple adjacent to the theatre, which from this fact alone we felt authorized to identify with the temple of Dionysus. We had then, however, no inscription to justify our name, but in this case our identification rests on the sure testimony of inscriptions.



FIGURE 2.—ERETRIA GYMNASIUM WITH ACROPOLIS IN BACKGROUND.

The gymnasium of Eretria is referred to in the inscription published by Rangabé in his *Antiquités Helléniques* (II. p. 266, No. 689) as a place for setting up one copy of that inscription, but until now it has not been known in what quarter of the city it stood. Rangabé's report of the provenience of the inscription referred to is indefinite: *dans les ruines d'Éretrie* is only just explicit enough to make us pretty certain that his inscription was the copy which was to be set up in the gymnasium, and not the other copy, which was to be set up in the temple of Artemis Amarysia, which was certainly a mile or more distant from the city. So it needed only a little more explicitness to allow us to

locate the gymnasium exactly. If the inscription were really found where we have excavated, it is strange that nobody made any combinations and conclusions when the draped male statue now in the central museum (Kabbadias, No. 244) was dug out in 1885 from the very heart of the gymnasium, as we now know it. One man, indeed, after our excavations did assert, what is of course probable enough in itself, that the inscription was found here. But of all this I heard nothing until after I had been led by a lucky chance to the spot. During the work at the temple of



FIGURE 8.—ERETRIA GYMNASIUM. ROOM WITH WATER-BASIN, MARKED B ON THE PLAN (FIG. 1).

Dionysius in 1894, in walking along the road at the foot of the acropolis one morning, I noticed a corner of a poros block protruding from the ground just north of the road. On clearing away the earth, I found the lower of the four basins already referred to, and subsequently three more. While these were being cleared out some Eretrians spoke of the statue as found a few rods farther west, and just to the north of the road. But even then no one spoke of the inscription, which fact may be explained by the consideration that an inscription, valuable as

it is to the archæologist, does not make anything like the impression upon the people that is made by an ἀγάλαμα.

It was the knowledge that a statue had been found near by, joined to the discovery of the basins, that made me for a year desirous of clearing this region systematically. While the work in the theatre was undertaken as a duty, the work at this spot was the carrying out of a fond desire. Although what we have now found may not be very imposing, it is more than a contribution to the topography of Eretria; it gives us reason to hope that something more may yet be discovered at the foot of the acropolis, where the kindly earth has come down and covered up the *monumenta priorum*.

One may be disposed to demand of us that we identify the various parts of our ground-plan with the rooms enumerated by Vitruvius (v. 11) as the essential parts of a palaestra, by which he means a gymnasium. This demand may seem justified by the consideration that Vitruvius is supposed to have based his description on some gymnasium which he had seen. But, considering that no two gymnasia of antiquity which have come to light agree very closely in their arrangements, we may excuse ourselves from this task. We may rather use our gymnasium to emphasize the fact already known, that it is absurd to try to reduce all ancient gymnasia to one cut-and-dried scheme. It is no wonder that the great gymnasia of the times of the Roman emperors at Ephesus and Hierapolis, themselves differing in details from each other, are very different from the simple gymnasium of Pergamon.<sup>1</sup> This, in turn, and the gymnasium at Olympia (*i. e.*, the so-called "palaestra," with which it readily associates itself) differed in an equal degree, doubtless, from the earlier gymnasia at Athens—the Cynosarges gymnasium, for example. But at Olympia and Pergamon we perhaps come as near to the old Greek gymnasium as we are ever likely to do.

It is interesting to note that the gymnasium of Pergamon is, like ours, laid out on a terrace, but, as the terrace was narrow, it could deploy itself only east and west, and so has only one-half of the porch-enclosed square which our gymnasium shows. But, even thus truncated, it has much larger proportions than ours,

<sup>1</sup> CONZE, *Ausgrabungen in Pergamon*, p. 101.



which, as became a smaller city, was extremely small in proportion to the dimensions laid down by Vitruvius, and shown in the large gymnasia of Olympia, Ephesus, and Hierapolis.

Besides being small, our gymnasium has very insignificant remains. Only in the northern half, where the deposit of earth was deepest, are the walls preserved above the floor-level, and here to heights varying from two to six or eight feet. We have discovered little of architectural remains. Four marble *anthemia* from the eaves of roofs, a half-dozen similar *anthemia* of terracotta, parts of unfluted columns—one with its moulded base, a few small pieces of fluted drums and capitals, the lower part of a marble door-post *in situ*, quite elaborately moulded, and a rude gargoyle, complete the tale. As it is proposed to reserve the inscriptions and sculptures found in the gymnasium for separate presentation, a short description of the walls and the various rooms is all that is now called for.

On the west side a broad flight of three low steps led up into the corridor surrounding the square *A*. These steps of porous stone are strangely enough coated with stucco, a material little adapted to endure the wear of feet. Passing through *A* we find the corridor immediately to the north provided with a tile-pavement, at least in its central portion. It is impossible to tell just how far it originally extended, the edges being somewhat battered. In the eastern part, where it was clearly lacking, we found five or six boxes with the capacity of somewhat less than a cubic foot, made of square tiles, with a top that was removable. These seem to have been imbedded in the earth, and were probably receptacles for coals. If this was their object the space was probably enclosed. The pavement continues up to the northern boundary of the room, where the wall is interrupted by a series of four bases between two *antae*. These bases are in a straight line with the wall and at regular distances. Although they are single blocks of limestone without a stylobate, they must have supported columns. Between the western *anta*<sup>2</sup> and the first column, and also between the first and second columns, are two marble blocks a little out of line with the limestone bases. These must have served as statue-bases. The

<sup>2</sup> On the base of this *anta* one of the theatre seats was found set up on end.

second one, in fact, has foot-marks with lead in them. This base may well have held the statue now in the central museum, found about twenty feet north of it. Unless these bases have been moved from their original place, the two statues standing on them were placed so as to impede the passage between the columns. At the other end of the line of columns, and south of the east *anta*, is another statue-base of a different character. It is composed of at least three blocks, a poros block at the bottom, above that a limestone block somewhat smaller, and above that a marble block quite elaborately moulded, of which only a small fragment of the eastern face lay *in situ*. This probably bore some conspicuous statue.

In *F* the roof-tiles of a very common sort formed a continuous layer from six inches to a foot thick over the whole surface, something which appeared in no other room. In this one case the falling in of the roof as a whole was clearly the first step in the disintegration.

Further north lies a round building enclosed in a rectangle. It was not, however, an exact circle, but an ellipse with its major axis (which was not quite parallel with the east and west lines of the other rooms) about 0.20 m. longer than its minor axis. Its northern part was hewn out of the solid rock. It had but a single entrance and that was from the irregularly shaped space to the east.

To the west, *H*, a small room, had a cement and pebble floor, and almost in the centre a base of Eleusinian marble. On the surface of this are remains of iron dowels, probably for fastening a second block, since the block which remains ends in a sharp inward curve little adapted to be the termination of a statue-base. The temptation is strong to propose here an identification which must after all remain a mere hypothesis. According to the Rangabé inscription above referred to, Theopompos, the donor of a fund of 40,000 drachmas to supply oil for use in the gymnasium to all time, was to have a bronze statue set up in the gymnasium with a copy of the inscription beside it. There must have been few men laying claim to such high honor in the gymnasium as he. Now here is a fine statue-base in a very conspicuous position appropriating the whole room to itself. If we accept the identification, there is no room so appropriate for the setting up of the

statue of the donor of the oil-fund as the *elaiiothesion*, and so we get a possible, if not a probable, name for one of our rooms. Close to the north wall of this room, not *in situ* but laid on its face, was found an inscription of forty-nine lines in honor of a liberal gymnasiarch, Elpinikos. This *stèle* may well have been set up in the room. No place could better meet the prescription of this inscription, ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ than a place beside the statue and *stèle* of the great benefactor Theopompos.

From this room the door to the west with the elaborately moulded door-post opens into a space not yet excavated, which was probably a porch thrown out in front of this northern half of the gymnasium. The lower part of an unfluted column broken off at a height of about one metre, with a moulded base, resting on a stylobate, was found at a distance of 4.50 m. in front of the door. This porch cannot have continued along the west front at the southern end, since the ground falls off a good deal in front of the steps. The short wall starting westward in line with the north stylobate of *A* was probably the terminus of this porch toward the south.

Room *I* never had a west wall, being a sort of niche of the porch divided in the middle by a half-column. In this room, *in situ*, against the east wall, was a block of Pentelic marble almost a cube in form, its sides measuring about a foot and a half each way; on the front of which, inside a wreath, was inscribed φιλοπονίας παιδῶν Παράμονος Δωροθέου. Against the same wall, further to the south, was a seat from the theatre, serving here also apparently as a seat.

The room *J* was not excavated in its northern half, but may be provisionally restored as on the plan.

On the east side of the gymnasium the rooms *B*, *C*, and *D* are taken up with arrangements for bathing, the most conspicuous part of which is the four poros basins with which we started. Each basin is cut out of a block 1.385 m. long, 0.95 m. high, and 0.78 m. wide. The hollow for the water is of an elliptical contour at the top, 1.16 m.  $\times$  0.65 m., and is 0.35 m. deep in the middle, where there is a hole in each basin for letting the water run out to the front. A U-shaped channel runs from one tub to the

next, 0.27 m. long, 0.12 m. wide and 0.10 m. deep. On the side next to the wall the blocks are left square, but on their front side they are moulded as seen in FIGURE 3. Below the projecting lip at the top a continuous broad band bears the letters A, B, Γ, Δ. The top and the cavities were covered with two coats of stucco. In the palaestra at Olympia is a marble basin having about the same form as these.

As the letter Δ on the fourth basin led me to seek three more higher up, so the roughly worked lower end of this basin, with an *Anschlussfläche*, led me to wonder what had become of the rest of the series on this end. It now appears that the basins were originally seven in number, and extended almost to the south wall of C. The basins now *in situ* have cross-blocks of poros about two feet long and six inches wide under each joint, to prevent the basins from sinking irregularly and falling apart, thus breaking the continuous flow of water from one to the other. In C near the south wall is such a poros block two feet long, but only three inches wide. At a distance to the north equal to a basin length is another block of the usual width. The narrower block was made to support the end of only one, and that the end basin of the series, while the broader piece supported as usual the ends of two adjacent basins. A basin placed on these blocks would be the seventh in line, the remaining space up to the fourth basin being just equal to two basin-lengths. It now appears that B and C were once a single room. Their pavement is identical and continuous. The wall between them is an afterthought. When the wall was built, for what reason we cannot tell, two basins, Nos. 5 and 6, had to come out, since the wall struck their joint. The seventh basin seems to have remained for some time, probably as long as the gymnasium was in use. The cross-wall disrupted the series, and left no proper outflow for the water unless it was conveyed by a pipe across the gap and through the wall to the seventh basin, from whence it fell to the floor and ran through the wall between C and D, along the east wall of D, until it was turned to the west through a series of three small basins with their top at the floor-level and with cavities about six inches deep. The whole of channel and basins is thickly coated with stucco.

The line ends abruptly against the eastern stylobate of A. We here found no proper discharge for the water, although it seems

as if there must have been once a way of conducting it across *A*, perhaps into the pipe seen on the west side below the steps. If the supply of water had been bountiful one might suppose that its continual and uninterrupted flow would have been provided for. But the holes in the larger basins for letting out the water can have had no object unless the flow were at times cut off. Probably water was scarce. The valley to the west of the acropolis, from which all the water-pipes found in Eretria seem to come down, is now dry, except after heavy rain or snow.

The tell-tale cross-pieces above mentioned not only testify to the extent of the series of basins, but show that the seventh basin remained *in situ* after the fifth and sixth were removed. The cross-pieces were left doubtless when some late-comer pulled out the basin for a watering trough or for some other use. The present accumulation of earth was not enough even to hide this basin. The gap above it prevented the late-comer from looking further for more basins of the same sort. The accumulation of earth on the other side of the gap was enough to hide  $\Delta$ , the basin which led to the discovery of the gymnasium.

Rooms remain to the east of *B*, *C*, and *D*, of which two small ones, and a part of another with a very hard floor of brown cement containing broken stone and bits of marble, have been laid bare.

Room *E* brings us to the question of the date of the gymnasium. The north wall of this room is from a Roman period, when the fine old Hellenic tradition of wall-building had been forgotten, perhaps later than the days of Hadrian. It contains, along with acropolis limestone, one elaborately wrought square poros base, a grave-stele of breccia, containing a rather old inscription, besides tiles and mortar. The east wall is also quite irregularly built, but is not necessarily very late. The general character of our finds, both in sculpture and epigraphy, points to a date not earlier than the first century B. C. Kabbadias gives this date independently to the statue No. 244, and Rangabé gives the same date hesitatingly to the inscription (No. 689).

But if the gymnasium as we find it is from Roman times, it by no means follows that it is a new creation of that period. No city in the times of Greek independence could be without its

gymnasium. Eretria, too, had its honorable record at Olympia. This is probably the one gymnasium of the city. The inscriptions know no other. A gymnasium once built would probably cling to the same spot through destructions and rebuildings. As a caution against ruling out the idea of an earlier occupation of this site, we have a vase-fragment that is dated certainly in the fourth century B. C., and two coins, one a tetradrachm of Lysimachus and another from Arados in Phoenicia of a date prior to 370 B. C.

There are also traces of changes covering perhaps many years. The south wall of *B* has been referred to. The most significant change, however, is that which is shown in the arrangements for the delivery of water into the basins. In the triangular space north of *B* is a rock-cut channel which was subsequently abandoned for a system of round tiles, both directed to a point near the head of the series of basins. Both of these were apparently abandoned for a later system coming from a point farther north. In *E* there is no trace of the continuance of either system, although the wall has a hole at the end of the rock-cut channel. The inference is that both systems once came across the space now occupied by *E*, which is another reason for supposing *E* in its present state to be late. There is another line of round tiles passing through *K*, laid a foot below the floor-level in a trench dug in very hard bottom to receive it. This is in line with other similar tiles further up the hill, and seems to lead to the room east of *L*; but there is no hole in the walls or floor of this room to admit water, although it does have the appearance of a cistern. This also, then, looks like an abandoned system, although it is possible that it ran under the whole gymnasium, delivering water further down. The tiles of this line are larger and more finished than those of the other lines, and are probably somewhat older. In *E*, below the floor-level of the last arrangement, there was so much charcoal that one may believe in a destruction by fire and a rebuilding with considerable alterations, among them an alteration of level in *E*.

We can hardly feel any certainty as to the use of any room except *B*, where the athletes doubtless took their cold bath by having water from the basin poured over them. One room, however, from its different shape challenges us to attempt an explana-

tion—the *tholos*. This was more carefully built than any other part, being made of regularly cut blocks of poros. A considerable part of its area, too, is cut out of the solid rock (*λαξευτός*). On the northern side the native rock takes the place of the lower courses of poros. With regard to this *tholos* three explanations may be suggested.

1. The gymnasium at Pergamon shows something similarly situated which looks like a small theatre; and our gymnasium might well have had some *auditorium*, for in one of the inscriptions a gymnasiarch, Mantidoros, is praised for paying a Ὀμηρικὸν φιλόλογον out of his own pocket. But this *tholos* can hardly have served as an *auditorium*, not only on account of its small size, but also on account of its one narrow entrance, less than one metre broad. It is possible, indeed, that we have here a basement merely, over which, with a floor of wood—there are no signs of any material of a stone flooring among the many tiles found inside, was the real room of the *tholos*. This room would then have opened upon the terrace above, and thus the *tholos* would be an intermediary between the two terraces. The upper room might then be an *auditorium* for a small number.

2. Considering that both the large and small *thermae* at Pompeii have circular swimming-tanks, one might think in these to have found the explanation of this round building. The enclosing rectangle would make a very proper strengthening of the circle on the sides which needed support. If it were a tank, we should have to think of it as having the floor from which the bathers plunged extending out over the whole rectangle. The upper part would then probably be open-work with columns. We found near the bottom one fragment of a Doric column and another fragment of a Doric capital. Bathers were probably not afraid of a little publicity in ancient times, nor would there be a great curiosity on the part of the public to come and gaze. But, after all, the idea of a tank is untenable. Not only is the break in the wall (which is clearly original, and which seemed rather narrow for a passageway) too wide for a hole for letting out water, and a very weak spot for resisting the pressure of a tank-full of water; but we have not found pipes either leading to the *tholos* or leading away from it. The former, to be sure,

if they existed, being near the surface, might have disappeared like the upper layers of the tank itself, but the latter could hardly have escaped us.

3. A more probable guess than either of the two mentioned is that it was a vapor-bath. This vapor-bath was called by many ancient writers *tholos* (cf. Athenæus, 501 d). We found, to be sure, no traces of any heating apparatus here; but portable braziers might have been used.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

Athens, March, 1896.

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## SCULPTURE FROM THE GYMNASIUM AT ERETRIA.

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In the excavation of the gymnasium at Eretria in the summer of 1895, were found three pieces of sculpture which deserve description. They are all of Pentelic marble and of life size.

No. 1. FIGURES 1, 2. This is a head of the type already very familiar under the name of the "Indian Bacchus." A description is hardly necessary except to recall the peculiarities of the type, the most striking features of which are a long wedge-shaped beard made of flowing ringlets systematically balanced, and hair encircled with a band and arranged in three superimposed rows of corkscrew curls over the forehead. Less striking but equally important are the dreamy eyes, and cheeks somewhat puffed out, giving the appearance of a kindly being of a sensual nature.

The examples of the type are so numerous already that the publication of this might seem superfluous were it not an unusually good one. Nearly every museum in Europe has one or more examples, the Athenian Central Museum having twenty or more, and the Naples Museum a good number. This year a similar head was found in the excavations of the German Institute near the Theseum, and another in the clearing out of the *Stadion*—a duplicate of the head on the double herm found by Ziller in his excavations in the *Stadion* in 1869-70. But the heads from the *Stadion*-



herms are certainly *Dutzendarbeit*, and the same may be said of nearly all those in the Athenian museums now kept in a side room, as well as of those that have been found at Pompeii. The most of all these examples must be regarded as archaistic. The three rows of curls over the forehead are clearly a feature of archaic art retained for old fashion's sake.<sup>1</sup> These heads seem to be almost solely from herms or busts. The frequency of the herm as a landmark and as an ornament for a front-door or a



FIGURE 1.—INDIAN BACCHUS—PROFILE.

front-yard, and especially for gymnasia, accounts for the numerous examples that have survived.

The head here published is both better preserved and better executed than most, and deserves for these reasons to be set up in the Athenian Museum, where it now lies. The preservation is practically complete, the only essential damage being the chipping off of the left nostril. The break on the right side, by which a part of the forehead and hair has been carried away, as well as the abrasion of the left part of the beard detract little from the

<sup>1</sup> This is seen in the large female figure from the top of the Mausoleum and even on the bearded head in the Central Museum (Kabbadias, No. 52).

total effect of the face. The eyes and mouth, the most expressive features, are intact; the beard is nearly so; enough is preserved of the three rows of corkscrew curls to forestall any regret at the loss of the rest. The execution, in hair, beard, and eyes, is more careful than in the head (still unpublished) found at Delos in 1885, which is the best example in the Athenian Museum (Kabbadias, No. 49). No. 52 of Kabbadias, though better preserved than the Delos head, almost entirely lacks expression. The head from Delos (*BCH.* v. plate x a), although well called by Homolle a



FIGURE 2.—INDIAN BACCHUS—FRONT VIEW.

*reproduction bien exécutée d'un beau modèle*, has suffered more from abrasion. While our head conveys the impression of *mildes Versunkensein in Träumerei*,<sup>3</sup> No. 49 of Kabbadias seems to have gone to sleep.

The eye in the present head is rather more carefully cut than in most of the others, the upper lid being carried out over the lower lid at the outside corner. The moustache is somewhat peculiar in that it leaves the upper lip practically bare, and seems to spring

<sup>3</sup> Phrase employed by Michaelis to characterize the Naples bronze so long known under the name of "Plato," and quoted by Kekulé in his discussion of the Talleyrand Zeus, which is held by Michaelis and others to be a Dionysus-head; *Arch. Zeit.* XXXII, p. 94.]

in two great curls, one out of each nostril, which proceed almost perpendicularly downward, predominating among the curls of the beard. At the lower end they curl inward, a feature seen also in Kabbadias, Nos. 52 and 107, where, however, they diverge much more. Probably our head had the usual strands of hair falling over the shoulders to the front and rear, but, as the break has left little of the neck, we can only make an inference from a lump back of the left ear, which looks like the remnant of such a strand. The lower part of the series of curls on the left side is wrought in a separate piece and set in. The band around the hair is, as in Kabbadias, No. 49, and in some other cases, a very thick one, a section of which would be nearly a cylinder.

It has long been a subject of dispute whether the type of head now under discussion should be called Hermes or Dionysus.<sup>3</sup> It is at least probable that Dionysus has made as strong a contest for the possession of Hermes' pillar as Heracles ever made for Apollo's tripod. The strange phrase "Dionysus-herm" has gained an abiding place in archæological nomenclature. As far as our head bears on the discussion, it would be slightly in favor of Hermes, inasmuch as it was found in a gymnasium. But it is quite likely that this type was used for almost any benevolent male divinity. The puffed cheeks can hardly be pressed to indicate recent debauch, and yet the general softness and sensuousness seem to fit Dionysus better than Hermes.

When and how this type originated is not known. That it goes back to rather remote times is rendered probable by the appearance of a similar form in Tarentum terracottas.<sup>4</sup> The archaic head of Zeus from Olympia<sup>5</sup> is not so unlike the type that it might not form the first term in the line of descent. That the type started with a full-length statue may be suggested by the colossal figure of the Villa Albani,<sup>6</sup> which, though it has but two rows of corkscrew curls, is of essentially the same type.

No. 2. FIGURE 3. The history of this head is interesting. We found the upper part early in our excavations. Nearly a week

<sup>3</sup> For a history of the discussion see ROSCHER, *Lex. der Gr. und Röm. Myth.*, p. 1121.

<sup>4</sup> *Monumenti*, xi, plate 56.

<sup>5</sup> FURTWÄNGLER, *Bronzefunde von Olympia*, plate I.

<sup>6</sup> ROSCHER, *Lex. der Gr. und Röm. Myth.*, 1102.

later, Mr. Lyris, the ephor attendant upon the excavations and lodging in the museum at Eretria, said that he thought our fragment would fit a bust with the lower part of a head already in the museum. On applying the new to the old we found the fit perfect. The old piece had been lying in the museum so long that we could get no information as to the circumstances of its finding. As the result gives an interesting portrait-head, deemed worthy of the Athenian museum, we have a good illustration of



FIGURE 3.—BUST INCLUDING FRAGMENT IN MUSEUM.

the utility of keeping for years what might seem insignificant pieces of sculpture.

I experienced a great surprise when the two parts were reunited. The upper part had seemed peculiarly massive, like the head of *Vespasian*<sup>7</sup> (FIGURE 4). The wrinkled forehead resembles that of a Roman standing by the side of the emperor *Marcus Aurelius* on his triumphal arch.<sup>8</sup> But the reunited head showed

<sup>7</sup> BERNOUILLI, *Römische Ikonographie*, II, plate vii.

<sup>8</sup> BRUNN-BRUCKMANN, 268<sup>a</sup>.

a narrow face and a thick-lipped mouth, rather sensual, almost Ethiopian. A portrait-face like this always challenges to an estimate of the character behind it. This man was probably a man of good mental endowments: such a dome must have contents. But he was probably shrewd and crafty, perhaps revengeful and lustful. Whom does the head represent? As it does not coincide with any of the known portraits of Roman times, where it probably belongs (judging by locks of hair like those often appearing on heads of the Antonines), the most reasonable supposition is that it is a local gymnasiarch like Elpinikos or Mantidoros. It is, however, more distinctly Roman in appearance



FIGURE 4.—ENLARGED VIEW OF FRAGMENT FOUND IN GYMNASIUM.

than the heads of the *Kosmetai* in the Athenian Museum, who, as far as hair, beard, and features go, might stand for some of the "solid men of Boston."<sup>9</sup>

No. 3. FIGURE 5. This is a fragment containing the right upper part of a face.<sup>10</sup> A glance at it reveals a representative of good Greek times, and the fact that we have here a part, unfortunately only a small part, of a head really deserving attention as a work of art. The sex of a figure found in a gymnasium, can hardly be in doubt. The longitudinal depression in the forehead marks it plainly as that of a man.<sup>11</sup> When we come to

<sup>9</sup> DUMONT in *BCH*, i, p. 229, plates 3 and 4; also ii, plates 5 and 6.

<sup>10</sup> The forehead is 0.06 m. high: the eye is 0.03 m.  $\times$  0.013 m.

<sup>11</sup> E. F. BENSON in *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, xv, p. 194 ff.

consider the other important criterion, the hair, we are led into an unexpected field. The broad head-band is nothing unusual, but the arrangement of the locks and the contour of the hair around the forehead is peculiar. The latter item is most significant. We find a parting in the middle and a series of projecting and re-entrant curves, with one projecting lock about half-way down the edge and another in front of the ear. The left side is unfortunately not preserved; but who can doubt that if it were we should find the waves and curls corresponding to those on the right side? The surface of the head is covered with flat locks flowing down over one another and ending in little horns. Had



FIGURE 5.—FRAGMENT OF GREEK HEAD.

a head with hair of this character been found at Argos, one would unhesitatingly pronounce the word "Polycleitan." The unexpected was that we should find anything Polycleitan at Eretria. The suggestion must, however, be considered. The Naples bronze copy of the *Doryphoros*<sup>12</sup> has a great many more projecting locks. The Naples marble *Doryphoros*<sup>13</sup> and the Naples Heracles<sup>14</sup> resemble our head more nearly. The Naples boy assigned by Furtwängler to Polycleitus<sup>15</sup> is almost like ours, while the Hermitage head<sup>16</sup> makes us feel as if we were viewing the other side of the head under discussion.

<sup>12</sup> BRUNN-BRUCKMANN, 386.

<sup>13</sup> BRUNN-BRUCKMANN, 273.

<sup>14</sup> FURTWÄNGLER, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, Eng. Ed., p. 234, fig. 95.

<sup>15</sup> FURTWÄNGLER, *op. cit.* p. 284, fig. 121.

<sup>16</sup> FURTWÄNGLER, *op. cit.*, p. 252, fig. 104.

The question who is represented, is not so easy to answer. But the following sentence from Furtwängler (*op. cit.*, p. 233) may lead us to the light: "It need not surprise us to find the *Doryphoros* so often adapted to the representation of Hermes in Roman times, for copies of this statue were placed in the various palaestrae and gymnasia, which were all consecrated to Hermes." What is more natural than that we should find in the Eretria gymnasium another type of Hermes besides the stereotyped archaistic form already described? The other finds there point to the Roman times, when this type was a favorite. This natural naming of our head gives the supposition of a Polycleitan origin for our head a sort of corroboration. What the Hermes of Polycleitus was like may be shown by the Fins d'Annecy head.<sup>17</sup> It is not necessary, however, that our head should have represented Hermes. It may have been a Heracles or some human athlete.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

Athens, March, 1896.

<sup>17</sup> *Gazette Arch.* II (1876), plate 18.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM ERETRIA.

### I.

(in corona)

Ἰάσων.

- Οἱ πρόβουλοι εἶπαν· ἐπειδὴ Ἑλπίνικος Νικομάχου  
αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γυμνασιάρχος ἔν τε τοῖς  
λοιποῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνδόξως ἀνεστρά-  
φη, συνελθόντων διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ  
5 πλείονων παιδῶν τε καὶ ἐφήβων καὶ τῶν ἄλ-  
λων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν πειπτόντων, προενοιήθη  
τῆς εὐταξίας αὐτῶν, ἐμμουέυσας ἐν τῷ γυ-  
μνασίῳ δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ· καὶ παρέσχεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου  
ῥήτορά τε καὶ ὄπλομάχον, οἷτινες ἐσχόλαζον  
10 ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τοῖς τε παισὶν καὶ ἐφήβοις καὶ  
τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς βουλομένοις τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιού-  
των ὠφελίαν ἐπιδέχεσθαι· ἐφρόντισεν δὲ καὶ τοῦ  
ἐλαίου, ὅπως χαριέστατον ἦ, τὴν εἰς ταῦτα δαπά-  
νην ἐπιδεχόμενος ἰδίαι· ἔθηκεν δὲ καὶ δολίχους  
15 πλείονας· συνετέλει δὲ καὶ θυσίαν καθ' ἕκαστον  
δόλιχον τῷ Ἑρμῇ· τό τε διδόμενον ἄθλον ὑπὸ τ[οῦ  
δήμου τῷ νικήσαντι τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου δρ[ό-  
μον αὐτὸς προέθηκεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου, τὸ δοθὲν ὑπὸ  
τοῦ δήμου διάφορον ἀποδοῦς τῇ πόλει· καὶ τὸν τ(ῶι)  
20 Ἡρακλεῖ τιθέμενον ἀγῶνα συνετέλεσας, τὴν  
εἰς τὰ ἄθλα δαπάνην ἀνήλωσεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου,  
τὴν πᾶσαν φιλοτιμίαν ποιούμενος χάριν τῆς τῶν  
πολλῶν εὐνοίας· ἔν τε τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν Ἀρτε-  
μεισίων συνετέλει τὸ ἄλειμμα ἐκ <κ> τοῦ ἰδίου, τὴν  
25 δαπάνην ἐπιδεχόμενος οὐ μόνον εἰς τοὺς πο-  
λίτας ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς εἰς τὴν πα-  
νήγυριν παραγενομένους καὶ μετέχοντας τῶν  
κοινῶν ξένους· τὴν τε θυσίαν τῷ Ἑρμῇ συντελῶν  
ἐκάλεσεν ἐκ προγράμματος τοὺς τε πολίτας καὶ



- 30 Ἑρωμαίων τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν κοινῶν μετέχοντας τῆι τετράδι (εἰ)στίασεν, τῆι δὲ πέμπτει καὶ ἑτέροις τῶν τε πολιτῶν καὶ ξένων πλήονας· τόπον τε αἰτησάμενος τοὺς συνέδρους ἐν τῆι ἐξέδρῃ τῆι ἐν τῶι ἐπικαμπίῳ τῶι ἐν τῆ παραδρομίδι ἀνέθηκεν βάρθρα λευκοῦ λίθου καὶ Ἑρμῆν, εἰς τὰ προειρημένα δαπάνας ἐπιδεξάμενος πλήονας, βουλόμενος τῆν ἰδίαν εὖνοιαν ἣν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδείγνυσθαι· ἵνα οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται εὐχάριστος καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς ἀρετῆι διαφέροντας πολλοὶ τε δόξης
- 40 ἐπιθυμηταὶ γένωνται, δεδόχθαι τοῖς τε συνέδροις καὶ τῶι δῆμῳ ἐπαινέσαι Ἑλπίνικον Νικομάχου ἐπὶ τῆι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὖνοίῃ καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ, ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῶι γυμνασίῳ ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ,
- 45 ὅπως ἡ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἡ δόξα φανερὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ δήμου τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσι τιμῆ, καὶ πολλοὶ <σ> τῶν ὁμοίων γίνονται ζηλωταί· ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπιστάτην ὅστις ἐπιμλήσεται τῆς τε ἀναγραφῆς τῶν ἐψηφισμένων καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τῆς στήλης. Εἰρέθη ἐπιστάτης Φιλοκλής Νικο[. . .

## TRANSLATION.

“The *Probouloi* moved: Whereas Elpinikos, son of Nikomachos, elected gymnasiarch by the people, has in general honorably discharged the duties of his office, and, when a considerable number of boys and of *epheboi* and of others subject to his jurisdiction were through his zealous endeavors brought together, he took thought for their training, abiding in the gymnasium throughout the year; and he furnished at his own expense an instructor in rhetoric and a drill-master, who devoted themselves in the gymnasium to the boys and the *epheboi* and all others who wished to receive profit from such training; and he took thought for the oil, also, that it be of the finest quality, himself defraying the expense incurred for this; he also instituted many *dolichoï*, and at each *dolichos* performed a sacrifice to Hermes; the prize, also, offered by the people to the winner in the race from the Herakleion, he himself provided at his own expense, repaying the city the sum of money given by the people; and in carrying through the games established in honor of



**FIG. 1.—ERETRIA GYMNASIUM. INSCRIPTION No. 1.**

Herakles he paid the cost of the prizes from his own property, making the whole lavish outlay because of his good-will toward the people; and at the festival of the Artemisia he paid for the unguents from his own property, taking on himself the expense not only for the citizens but also for the others, who as strangers were present at the festival and participated in the common privileges; and when performing the sacrifice to Hermes he invited by proclamation both the citizens and the resident Romans, and those who partook of the common privileges he banqueted on the fourth day, and on the fifth day others of the citizens and strangers in great numbers; and asking the *Synedroi* for the site he erected in the *exedra*, which is in the "angle" in the *paradromis*, seats of marble and a statue of Hermes, incurring for the above-mentioned things considerable expense, desiring to show the peculiar good-will which he bears toward the people; in order, therefore, that the people may be manifested as grateful and as honoring those preëminent in virtue, and that many may become emulous of fame,

"Be it decreed by the *Synedroi* and the people that Elpinikos, son of Nikomachos, be commended for his good-will toward the people and be crowned with a crown of olive; and that this decree be inscribed on a *stèle* of stone and erected in the most conspicuous place in the gymnasium, that posterity may know his fame and the honor bestowed by the people upon good men, and that many may be zealous after like things; also that an *epistates* be elected who shall have charge of the inscribing of the decree and of the erection of the *stèle*.

"Philokles, son of Niko . . . , was elected *epistates*."

#### INTRODUCTION.

This honorary decree (*Fig. 1*) was found at Eretria in one of the western rooms of the gymnasium excavated in May and June, 1895, by the American School. It lay face downward and was separated from the cement-pebble floor by not over 0.02 m. of earth. A calcareous deposit had formed, especially thick over the last ten lines, so that a vigorous use of acid and knife was necessary in order to read it, and much more to make a squeeze of it. It is a marble *stèle* one metre long, 0.345 m. wide at the top

0.40 m. wide at the bottom, and 0.08 m. to 0.10 m. thick. A projecting gable 0.225 m. high, with three *akroteria*, surmounts the *stèle*, and between the gable and the inscription is a sculptured crown 0.225 m. in diameter.<sup>1</sup> This is the crown of *θαλλός* mentioned in l. 42.

The letters of the inscription vary between 0.005 m. and 0.01 m. in height, and at first sight appear carefully cut. A closer examination, however, reveals some careless work: particularly at the ends of the lines the letters are very crowded, while in l. 31 *μ* and in l. 42 *ι* find barely room enough. The *ρ* and the *φ* are often very narrow; *σ* has its top and bottom bars a little divergent. All the letters have *apices*.

In a number of cases the stone-cutter corrected a previous cutting. *E. g.*, in l. 12 *ἀποδέχεται* was changed later to *ἐπιδέχεται*. The *θ* is cut small and high up so that the dot in the centre coincides with the junction of the horizontal and vertical bars of the *τ*. L. 20 has *συντελέσας* corrected from *συντελέεας*. In l. 41 *ἐπιφανεστάτω*, the *ε* in the antepenult replaces an *η*. L. 45 *ἐπιγενομένοις* was changed to *ἐπιγινομένοις*. *πλήνας* is the spelling in ll. 32 and 36. This was cut first in l. 15 and altered to *πλείνας*. The same change was made in l. 5 from *πλήνων* to *πλείνων*.<sup>2</sup> The transition of *ι* to *ει* is shown in l. 6, *πειπτόντων*, and in l. 24, *Ἀρτεμειῶν*. In l. 29 the stone-cutter originally wrote *πολείτας*, but changed it afterward to agree with *πολίτας*, l. 26, and *πολιτῶν*, l. 32. The stone in l. 19f has *τοῦ Ἡρακλεῖ*, very probably an assimilation from the *τοῦ Ἡρακλείου* of l. 17. In l. 31 the squeeze shows *ισστιασεν* for *εἰστίασεν*. L. 24 has *έκκ*<sup>3</sup>, and l. 46 *πολλοῖς*, the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. HUSSEY, *Greek Sculptured Crowns and Crown Inscriptions*, in *Papers of the American School*, v, pp. 135-61, esp. p. 188 f., and pll. x, xi (*Am. Jour. Arch.* 1890, pp. 69-95, esp. p. 72 f., and pll. xii, xiii). The crown resembles No. 19, except that the leaves are not so close together, and besides those branching on either side some lie along the stem as in Nos. 24 and 26 b.

<sup>2</sup> The wavering between *η* and *ει* in this word is unknown in Attic inscriptions. It seems to indicate an attempt to represent the earlier sound of *ει*, which at this period was fast becoming an *ι*-sound. For the writing of *η* (open) for *ει* (close), especially before vowels, cf. MEISTERHANS, *Gram. d. att. Inschr.*, § 15.20; *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 157; MEYER, *Gr. Gram.*,<sup>2</sup> § 67; BLASS, *Pronunciation of Ancient Greek*, p. 60; *Inscr. von Pergamon*, No. 158, l. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* 143, l. 40 and reff.; MEISTERHANS, § 40.5.

latter clearly a mistake for πολλοί. The *ι*-subscript is twice omitted in the feminine article: l. 19, τῆ πόλει; l. 34, τῆ παραδρομίδι.<sup>4</sup> Also ῥ appears twice instead of ῑ (ll. 13, 45).<sup>5</sup> In l. 49, εἰρέθη has *ει*, and not *η*, as the augment of *αι*.<sup>6</sup> The forms πέμπτει, l. 31, Ἐρμεί, ll. 16, 28, are not to be considered as vestiges of the peculiarly Eretrian early mode of writing, since *-φ* is regularly used as the dative of the second declension and not *-ου*.<sup>7</sup> They rather fall into line with the usage at Athens and elsewhere from the fourth century downwards of writing *-ει* for *-η*.<sup>8</sup>

## COMMENTARY.

Within the wreath which surmounts the inscription is the name Ἰάσων, cut in letters 0.015 m. to 0.02 m. high. This name is not mentioned elsewhere in the inscription. In inscription No. II, which to all appearances is the same sort of an honorary decree for a gymnasiarch, there are six names, in groups of three each, which occupy a similar position and in the part preserved of the inscription proper do not occur at all. Though their letters appear in a measure similar to those of the inscription, on a closer examination they show themselves to be most irregularly cut and not so deep—in short, the work of a novice in cutting stone. These names and the Ἰάσων are certainly later additions, the wreaths being originally left empty of inscriptions. No analogies to names so placed are at our disposal: they may belong to certain gymnasium functionaries.

L. 1, πρόβουλοι. Besides being used for officials chosen for some temporary emergency, this title was applied to two general classes of public officers: the one class was the ruling body in a number of oligarchical states, the other referred to men who had a certain official position in various democracies in Greece.<sup>9</sup> It is this latter class which we find at Eretria, and of them the

<sup>4</sup> Cf. MEISTERHANS, § 21.12; SMYTH, *Ionic Dialect*, § 433.2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. MEISTERHANS, § 21, note 481c.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. MEISTERHANS, § 15.7, § 62.13.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. BECHTEL, *Inscripfen des ionischen Dialects*, No. 15; SMYTH, § 433.3, note 2. For the Eretrian dialect in general, cf. also SMYTH, § 239; BECHTEL, p. 13; WILAMOWITZ in *Hermes* XXI, p. 98f.; WILHELM in *Eph. Arch.* 1890, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. BLASS, p. 47; MEISTERHANS, § 15.7, 8.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. SMITH, *Dictionary of Antiquities*<sup>3</sup>, s. v., and ARISTOTLE, *Politics*, pp. 1299, 1322.

inscriptions make mention from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third,<sup>10</sup> in nearly every case in connection with the *στρατηγοί*, whom we know from other sources to be important officials at Eretria. The mention of the *βουλή* in so many Eretrian inscriptions leads to the justifiable assumption that the *πρόβουλοι* were a smaller body who corresponded more or less closely to the nine archons at Athens, though their number and their mode of election, *i. e.*, whether or not they were chosen from the *βουλή (συλέδριον)*, are not known. They held office for a year,<sup>11</sup> and in connection with the gymnasiarch had certain financial duties.<sup>12</sup>

L. 2, *γυμνασίαρχος*. The liturgy of the *gymnasiarchia* in Hellenistic and Roman times was very wide-spread, as an examination of the pages of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* easily shows. The functions of a gymnasiarch, as is natural, differed in different cities of the Greek world and often at different periods in the same city, as we know for Athens,<sup>13</sup> and may assume for many other cities. This and the following similar, though fragmentary, inscription add materially to our knowledge of the *gymnasiarchia* at Eretria.<sup>14</sup> The closest analogies to them are an inscription from Sestos (Dittenberger, *SIG.* No. 246), one from Gela (*CIG.* 5475=Kaibel, *Inscr. Gr. Siciliae et Italiae*, 256), and a third from Salamis (*CIG.* II. 594).

In Eretria the gymnasiarch—as was usually the case—was elected annually, and naturally a greater claim was made upon his time and attention than, for example, in the liturgy of the *choregia*: *cf.* l. 7, *ἐμμονεύσας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ*. As one

<sup>10</sup> *Cf.* (1) *Eph. Arch.* 2d series (1869), p. 316, No. 404a (=DARESTE, HAUS-SOULLIER ET REINACH, *Inscr. Juridiques Grecques*, No. IX, p. 143), contract for draining a swamp, *πρόβουλοι* mentioned in ll. 35, 42, 44; (2) HERMIPPOS, frag. 36 in MÜLLER, *FHG.* III. p. 44, honorary decree; (3) *Athena*, v. 1893, p. 346, proxeny decree; (4) *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 135, No. 6, proxeny decree; (5) *ib.* 1892, p. 126, No. 8, ll. 1, 25, proxeny decree; (6) *ib.* 1st series, p. 781, No. 1302 (=RANGABÉ, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, No. 689) ll. 1, 46f, 60f, honorary decree. These are arranged in as nearly a chronological order as possible.

<sup>11</sup> *Cf.* GILBERT, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, II, p. 67, note 2; RANGABÉ, No. 689, l. 62.

<sup>12</sup> *Cf.* RANGABÉ, No. 689, l. 60f.

<sup>13</sup> *Cf.* HERMANN-THUMSER, *Gr. Staatsalterthümer*, p. 694.

<sup>14</sup> The only other Eretrian inscription which mentions a gymnasiarch is that already referred to, RANGABÉ, No. 689.

gymnasiarch succeeded another, each was desirous of being more liberal than his predecessors, so that from small beginnings there arose in time a high standard of the outlay to be made, and this he was expected to come up to, though he is praised as if it were all done at his own instance. The details of the gymnasiarch's services are clearly set forth in the text of the inscription itself, so it may suffice here merely to sum up the kinds of functions to which his office called him. 1. The mental and physical education of the city's youth was his first care: he provided an *ὄπλομάχος* and a *ρήτωρ* (in Inscr. No. Π an *ὀμηρικὸς φιλόλογος*). 2. He supplied all the oil needed in the work of the gymnasium, and at the Artemisia-festival gave the *ἄλειμμα*, on this occasion admitting the strangers present to a share in his liberality. 3. He instituted athletic contests and conducted those regularly prescribed. He furnished the prizes himself and paid back to the city-treasury the money regularly voted for this purpose. 4. He performed sacrifices to the gods of the gymnasium. 5. He entertained at banquets many of both citizens and foreigners. 6. He erected a statue of *Hermes*, and provided for the comfort of the public by the placing of seats in the place where the people took the air. And all this was for the love he bore toward his fellow-citizens.

L. 2, *τέ*. This seems to have no correlative. Probably the stone-cutter, whose carelessness has already been mentioned, had a copy with *καί* or *τέ* in connection with *συνελθόντων* (l. 4). It is worth noting that *τέ*, besides being a correlative, which is frequent enough here, is also used (ll. 16, 23, 28, 33) as a conjunction to append a clause, exactly as *καί* in l. 19, or as *δέ* might be used, though in this inscription the latter always (six times) has *καί* associated with it. This use of *τέ* is also seen in RANGABÉ, No. 689, l. 15.

L. 3, *ἀνεστράφη*. For this technical expression referring to conduct in office, cf. Inscr. No. II, l. 3; RANGABÉ, No. 689, l. 12; and the ephebic inscriptions generally, *e. g.*, CIA. II. 465-471.

L. 4, *φιλοτιμίαν*: cf. l. 22. A favorite word in laudatory inscriptions. It is used by Aeschines in his oration "*Against Ctesiphon*" four times in the sense of "honor," as an object which Demosthenes greedily covets, but also once (§ 19) in the sense of "lavish

outlay," in which sense Demosthenes also uses it in his oration "On the Crown," § 257.

L. 5, *πλειόνων*. "Absolute comparative," a sort of strengthened positive. The same use appears in ll. 15, 32, 36; Inscr. No. II, l. 5; *CIA*. II. 594, l. 16, *ἀνηλώσας πλείον ἀργύριον*.

L. 5, *παιδων τε καὶ ἐφήβων*. In the Sestos-inscription οἱ νέοι are also mentioned, who were naturally older than the ἐφηβοί, cf. C. CURTIUS in *Hermes*, VII, p. 134. In Chios (*CIG*. 2214) the four ages mentioned are *παιδες, ἐφηβοι, ἄνδρες* and *πρεσβύτεροι*.

L. 6, *προενοιήθη*. This unusual form for *προενοήθη* probably arises by assimilation from *πρόνοια*.

L. 7, *εὔταξίας*. This is a word frequently met with in ephebic inscriptions.<sup>15</sup> In the Sestos inscription (l. 83) *εὔταξία* is associated with *φιλοπονία* and *εὐεξία*,<sup>16</sup> and C. Curtius<sup>17</sup> remarks that the first *ist der technische Ausdruck für das sittliche Wohlverhalten der Jünglinge, während εὐεξία mehr die körperliche Gesundheit und Tüchtigkeit bezeichnet*.

L. 9, *ρήτορά τε καὶ ὄπλομάχου*. The *ὄπλομάχος* is often put at the top of the list of the instructors in the ephebic inscriptions, as being the most important.<sup>18</sup> As a regular instructor in a gymnasium the *ρήτωρ* is not elsewhere mentioned. In Athens the *epheboi* attended the lectures of the various rhetors and philosophers.<sup>19</sup> At Eretria, in the year when Elpinikos was gymnasiarch, a *ρήτωρ* was provided who came to the gymnasium and gave instruction there. In Inscr. II, l. 10f. the gymnasiarch Manti-doros is stated to have engaged the services of an *ὀμηρικὸς φιλόλογος*, no mention being made of an *ὄπλομάχος* or similar instructor. This makes it probable that there was a regular corps of teachers attached to the gymnasium, to whose number the gymnasiarchs made such additions as they saw fit. A gymnasium with no *ὄπλομάχος* or corresponding functionary is not to be thought of.

L. 13, *ἐλαίου*. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the fact that oil was important in Greek athletics. This is sufficiently

<sup>15</sup> Cf. SCHOENE, *Griech. Reliefs*, p. 85.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. also DITTENBERGER, *SIG*. 396, l. 17.

<sup>17</sup> *Hermes*, VII, p. 133.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. DUMONT, *Essai sur l'Éphébie Attique*, I, pp. 165, 185.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *CIA*. II. 478, l. 18f. τῶν ἐπιτη]δευμάτων ταῖς τε τῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ ῥητόρ[ων καὶ γραμματικῶν σχολαῖς; DUMONT, p. 242.



attested by the numerous statues of athletes either pouring oil upon the body or scraping it off with a strigil, by the names *ἐλαιοθέσιον* and *ἀλειπτήριον* for constituent parts of a gymnasium, and by the designation *οἱ ἀλειφόμενοι*<sup>20</sup> and *οἱ μετέχοντες τοῦ ἀλείμματος*<sup>21</sup> for the whole body of those who took part in gymnastic exercises. But the mention of the furnishing of oil by the gymnasiarch, both in this inscription and in No. II, brings before us a consideration of the matter from a pecuniary point of view.

The outlay for oil in the gymnastic exercises and contests must have been a considerable sum. The gymnastic inscriptions from Tauromenion<sup>22</sup> make this item prominent. The use of 218 *κάδοι* in one year's contests<sup>23</sup> is a sufficient illustration. Perhaps some of this oil was distributed in the form of prizes, as was the case at Athens, mention being made in *CIA.* II. 965 of 140 *ἀμφορῆς* as a single prize. But the ordinary use of oil in connection with gymnastic contests was for anointing. It is mentioned as an act of especial generosity on the part of the gymnasiarch at Sestos that he gave the *ἀλειφόμενοι* some of the oil to carry home.<sup>24</sup> There would be, of course, a fine opportunity for a rich gymnasiarch to show his liberality by furnishing the oil at his own expense, as is commemorated in both the Eretrian gymnasiarch inscriptions, but that it was *eine Hauptpflicht der Gymnasiarchen das nöthige Oel zu beschaffen*<sup>25</sup> may be doubted.<sup>26</sup> In the inscription from Tauromenion above mentioned the oil on hand, *i. e.*, the oil which was handed down from the preceding gymnasiarch, is distinguished from that which was freshly furnished (*ἐπαγωγίμος*) and both are reckoned as *εἴσοδοι*. In Eretria, at a time probably somewhat later than that of our inscription, a fund of 40,000 drachmas was given by a rich citizen, Theopompos, to provide oil for all time.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> *CIA.* II. 594, l. 6.

<sup>21</sup> DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* 246, l. 65.

<sup>22</sup> *CIG.* III. 5641, 5642.

<sup>23</sup> *CIG.* 5641, side 1, l. 85. The *κάδος* is supposed to be the equivalent of the *μετρητής* and the *ἀμφορεύς*. Cf. HULTSCH, *Metrologie*,<sup>2</sup> p. 101.

<sup>24</sup> DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* 246, l. 72 f : *μετεδίδου δὲ τοῖς ἀλειφομένοις τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλείμματος εἰς οἶκον, κτλ.*

<sup>25</sup> CARL CURTIUS in *Hermes.* VII, p. 155.

<sup>26</sup> BÖCKH-FRÄNKEL, *Staatshaushaltung*,<sup>3</sup> I, p. 549, doubts this for Athens.

<sup>27</sup> RANGABÉ, No. 689.

L. 14, ἔθηκεν δὲ καὶ δολίχους. The δολίχος, or long run, a severe test of the athlete's training, was of various lengths, some of which are given as six, seven, eight, twelve, twenty, and twenty-four stadium-lengths.<sup>28</sup> As the δολίχος was introduced at the Olympic Games in the xv Olympiad, it is not to be supposed that Elpinikos first introduced it at Eretria, but ἔθηκεν is to be understood as meaning "brought to a successful issue." In the Sestos-inscription (l. 36) διαδρομὰς ἐτίθει is equivalent to ἐπέτελεσεν διαδρομὰς (l. 65).

L. 16 (28), Ἑρμῆι: cf. l. 35 Ἑρμῆν. Hermes, the patron-god of gymnasia, is well known under the name Hermes ἀγώνιος or ἐναγώνιος<sup>29</sup> and as such is constantly associated with Heracles.<sup>30</sup> The *Hermaia* at Athens was an important gymnastic festival for boys.<sup>31</sup> It is likely that the fragment of a youthful head found in the gymnasium whence came this inscription is from a Hermes in the style of Polycleitus.

L. 17, τοῦ Ἑρακλείου: cf. l. 20 Ἑρακλεῖ. This is the only mention of a Herakleion in Eretria. Before this only temples of Apollo, Artemis, Dionysus, and Demeter were known.<sup>32</sup> It is not surprising to find Heracles worshipped here along a sea whose coasts delighted to honor him. He was at home at Marathon and Thermopylae, and Thebes, though inland, was not far away.

L. 23f., τῇ πανηγύρει τῶν Ἀρτεμεισίων. The goddess Artemis Amarysia seems to have been the principal divinity of Eretria, and to her temple outside the city the great procession (πομπή) of Eretria took place;<sup>33</sup> and this temple was in later times the sacred centre of an Eretrian league which included Carystus.<sup>34</sup> A part of the πανήγυρις was a contest in the Pyrrhic dance.<sup>35</sup>

L. 27f., μετέχοντας τῶν κοινῶν: cf. 30f., τῶν κοινῶν μετέχοντας.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. SMITH, *Dict. of Antiq.*,<sup>3</sup> II. p. 693 b.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. PRELLER-ROBERT, *Gr. Myth.*,<sup>4</sup> I. 415, where see the story of Hermes' love of the Arcadian princess Palaistra.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *ib.* note 4 for numerous references. In addition to these see the Carian inscription *BCH.* x (1886), p. 490, no. 3 [no. 4 is identical with Ross, *Hellenika*, p. 67, no. 11, which the French editors apparently failed to notice].

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *CIA.* II. 594; SMITH, *Dict. of Antiq.*,<sup>3</sup> I. p. 955 b.

<sup>32</sup> See *A Temple in Eretria*, above, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>33</sup> *ib.* p. 333.

<sup>34</sup> *ib.*

<sup>35</sup> Cf. RANGABÉ, No. 689, l. 46.

This phrase occurs also in the inscription from Sestos, l. 84f.: *ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά τοὺς ἀλειφομένους πάντας καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς μετέχοντας τῶν κοινῶν, κτλ.*<sup>36</sup> τὰ κοινά is a phrase in common use to denote political rights, and, if it has that meaning here, refers to a class of foreigners, non-residents, who by treaty or special decree were endowed with such rights as would entitle them to participate in the festival of the Artemisia, and when sacrifice was made to Hermes.<sup>37</sup>

L. 30, *παρεπιδημούντας*. Used of strangers temporarily residing in a place for a longer or shorter time. Cf. DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* 246, l. 29 f.: *ἐπιστραφεῖς οὐ μόνον τῶν πολιτῶν [καὶ] τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατοικούντων τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν παρεπιδημούντων ξένων, κτλ.*; *ib.* 267, l. 2 ff. - - οἱ κατοικούντες ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ οἱ παρεπιδημούντες ἔμποροι καὶ ναύκληροι, κτλ.; RANGABÉ, No. 689, l. 40 f. τοῖς τε πολίταις πᾶσιν καὶ τῶν ξένων τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσιν; *I Peter*, ii. 11.

L. 33 f., ἐν τῇ ἐξέδρᾳ . . . παραδρομίδι. The large *exedrai* in public places, in distinction from the *exedrai* in rooms of private houses, became popular in the Alexandrian and still more in the Roman times. How one of them appeared is seen in a restoration of the *exedra* of Attalus II at Pergamon in CONZE, *etc.*, *Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, pl. VII. The best-known case of an *exedra* is perhaps that of Herodes Atticus at Olympia.<sup>38</sup>

The unusual phrase, ἐν τῷ ἐπικαμπίῳ,<sup>39</sup> seems equivalent to "in the corner." The location of the *exedra* must then have corresponded to that of the *exedra* of Attalus II, as shown in the plate referred to. In Plutarch, *De Gen. Soc.* 25, one person leads another εἰς τὸ ἐπικάμπιον τῆς στοᾶς for a talk.

Vitruvius (*de Architectura*, v. 11) uses *παραδρομῖς* of the grounds planted with trees adjacent to the stadium with walks for those not occupied in the exercises. At Eretria the *παραδρομῖς* prob-

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the similar expressions *CIG.* II, 2852, l. 5f.: *πολιτεῖαν εἶναι Κελοῖς καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετέχειν Κελοῖς ὥμπερ καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι μετέχουσιν* (cf. also 2853, l. 18f.); ARISTOTLE, *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 8. 30; 26. 22 *μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως*; 21. 5; 42. 2 *τῆς πολιτείας*, and often in the *Politics*; DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* 246, ll. 65, 74 *μετέχοντες τοῦ ἀλείμματος*; *CIA.* II. 186, l. 29f. [*γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν ἀπέχοντι τῶν [κοινῶν καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν]*].

<sup>37</sup> Cf. STENDEL in *Müller's Handbuch*, v (3) p. 80.

<sup>38</sup> *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, III. pl. 87.

<sup>39</sup> In *SUIDAS*, *ἐπικαμπῆς παράταξις*, and in tactics generally, as in POLYBIUS and DIODORUS, *ἐπικάμπιος* is used of a wing thrown either forward or backward.

ably lay to the west of the gymnasium where there is quite a level stretch toward the theatre. It can hardly have been on a lower terrace to the south, as there the houses of the city must have come close up to the foot of the acropolis. No other alternative is allowed by the lay of the land.<sup>40</sup>

L. 40, τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ: cf. l. 33, τοὺς συνέδρους. In the earlier decrees from Eretria βουλή and δῆμος are coupled together or either is used alone. Thus in *Eph. Arch.* 1890, p. 195, No. 1, l. 1, we find ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλῇ, *ib.*, No. 2, ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τοῖ δήμοι, two proxeny decrees on the same stone assigned by Wilhelm to the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the fourth. To the second half of the fourth century are given *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 126, No. 2, where l. 12f. has πρόσοδον πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον, and *ib.* p. 135, No. 5, l. 4f. with the same phrase. In the early Macedonian period is put *Athena* i. p. 621, where l. 24f. reads πρόσοδον πρὸς βουλὴν καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, cf. 30f. About 300 B. C. comes *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 121, No. 1, l. 11 with ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ and l. 24f. πρόσοδον πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον; and of not far from this date is *Eph. Arch.* 1887, p. 179, No. 1, with the same phrases. Dated 278 B. C. is the inscription quoted by Hermippus, frag. 36 in MÜLLER, *FHG.* III. p. 44, ἔδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, κτλ.; and to the first-half of the third century belong *Athena* v. p. 364, l. 6f., ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ; *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 136, No. 6, l. 8f., ἔδοξε]ν τῇ βουλῇ κα[ὶ τῷ δήμῳ. To the third century in general may be assigned *Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 127, No. 3, l. 19f. πρόσο[δ]ον [πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον]; *Deltion Arch.* 1889, p. 104, l. 2, ἔδοξε [τῷ δήμῳ], l. 5, πρόσοδον—πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον; *Eph. Arch.* 2d series, p. 384, No. 418, ll. 4f., 14f. (same phrases). *Eph. Arch.* 1887, p. 79, No. 2, l. 9, with the phrase δεδόχθαι [τῷ δήμῳ εἶναι, κτλ.] is dated at the end of the third century, and perhaps the inscription in *BCH.* II. p. 277, No. 4, with the same expression is of about the same period. The date of *CIG.* II. 2144 (= *SIG.* 201) with ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ in l. 6 is uncertain. Of the Attic inscriptions, one from the early years of the fourth century (*CIA.* IV (2). 7b) mentions the βουλή of the Eretrians along with sundry officials, and in *CIA.* IV (2). 116b its number is given as 500 (the words Ἐρετριέων τὴν τε βουλήν are restored).

<sup>40</sup> For παραδρομῆς see, further, *Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, p. 105.

Sometime in the second century B. C. the Eretrian βουλή was dissolved and a body called the συνέδροι substituted.<sup>41</sup> Their existence is known, aside from this inscription, by that already often referred to, RANGABÉ, No. 689. Here l. 27 f. reads δεδύχθαι τοῖς τε συνέδροις καὶ τῷ δήμῳ and l. 62 f. ἀποδίδουσαι . . . λόγον διὰ τοῦ συνεδρίου. The exact date of the change of βουλή to συνέδριον is unknown. The number composing the latter must also remain uncertain. Suffice it to say that the Roman conquest did not alter the democratic forms of government at Eretria.

L. 46 f., πολλοὶ—ζηλωταί. These words occur also in RANGABÉ, 689, ll. 26 and 43, but their order is different in each case.

L. 47, ἐπιστάτην. As often, a person specially chosen to see that a given piece of work was properly carried out: cf. RANGABÉ, 689, ll. 65, 71.

L. 49, Νικο[ . . . After the ο traces of another letter were visible on the stone, apparently either λ or δ, which could be filled out to Νικολάου, Νικολόχου, or Νικοδήμου, Νικοδίκου, Νικοδώρου. Any of these names would have to be much crowded to get it in, and the shortest, Νικολάου, is the one which deserves the preference.

#### DATE OF INSCRIPTION.

The forms of the letters are not such as to fix the date of this inscription more exactly than to that period when the *koine* with its unifying influences had become universal in the Greek world. Other criteria must be applied—orthography above all—and it must be compared with other Eretrian inscriptions. What is found true for this will hold for Inscription No. II as well, as they apparently belong to the same period. Of the other Eretrian ψηφίσματα, that so often referred to, RANGABÉ, No. 689 (which it will be remembered also mentions the συνέδροι, and no longer the βουλή), is the only one which can be thought of as an appropriate term of comparison;—all the others are considerably earlier.

Rangabé dated his inscription shortly before the Roman conquest, and Gilbert<sup>42</sup> follows him, but, now that the Eretrian *Corpus* is enriched by two more inscriptions of the same general period

<sup>41</sup> Cf. GILBERT, *Griech. Staatsalterthümer*, II, p. 67 and note 2. LIV. XLV. 32 speaks of *senatores, quos syndros vocant*, though not referring to Eretria.

<sup>42</sup> *loc. cit.*

as the Rangabé-stone, certain considerations conspire to bring the latter down to a later date. As a starting point may be taken the expression in l. 30 of the inscription here discussed, 'Ρωμαίων τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦντας, which unquestionably puts its date after 146 B. C. This Elpinikos-decree, moreover, has but three instances of a first declension dative in -ει (*cf. Introduction*), showing that the use of this form was dying out.<sup>43</sup> No case of this orthography occurs in the Rangabé-stone (decree in honor of Theopompos). Further, in regard to the omission of the ι-subscript, the Elpinikos-inscription furnishes four instances out of a possible thirty-two (*cf. Introduction*), two of these in the dative singular of the article and two in the verbal form ῆ. On the other hand, the Theopompos-psephism thirty out of thirty-three times omits the ι in the declensional endings -η and -φ. The ι is retained in α three times and in the verbal form ῆ (l. 53).<sup>44</sup>

It seems, then, that the Theopompos-inscription has a tendency to conform to a later fashion of writing than the Elpinikos-stone. Against this may be urged the confusion of ι and ει in the latter (*cf. Introduction*), from which the former is completely free. This confusion appears first in Attic inscriptions about 100 B. C.<sup>45</sup> Both inscriptions have the form εἰπέθη, which ceases to be used in Attic about 100 B. C.<sup>46</sup>

The Elpinikos-stone knows nothing of the oil-fund established by Theopompos, so that, all things considered, we are safe in saying that the decree in honor of Elpinikos dates not far from the beginning of the first century B. C., and that for the public-spirited Theopompos some years later. It affords us a very instructive view of the prosperity of Eretria under Roman rule when a private citizen could give 40,000 drachmas for an oil-fund in the confidence that it would remain secure.

<sup>43</sup> *Cf.* the table in MEISTERHANS, § 15b. 8.

<sup>44</sup> The majuscule text of this inscription has been followed rather than the minuscules. The two are often inconsistent. *Vide also Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 165 and *reff.* *Cf.* MEISTERHANS, § 21d. 12, for table of the use of ι-subscript in Attic inscriptions; FRANZ, *Elementa*, p. 233; BLASS, *Pronunciation*, p. 48.

<sup>45</sup> *Cf.* MEISTERHANS, § 15g. 24.

<sup>46</sup> *ib.*, §§ 15b. 7; 62b. 18.

## Π.



FIG. 2.—ERETRIA GYMNASIUM. INSCRIPTION NO. II.

*(in corona)*

Χαρίδαμος

Γαῦρος

Φιλόξενος

Διονύσιος

Διονυσίου

χρηστός

Οἱ πρόβουλοι εἶπαν· ἐπειδὴ Μαντίδωρος Καλλικράτ[ους  
 αἶρεθεις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου γυμνασάρχος ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τῆ[ν  
 ἀρχὴν ἐνδόξως ἀνεστράφη καὶ ἀξίως ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν προγ[ό-  
 νων καὶ τῆς ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [π]ίστεως, συ[ν-  
 5 ἐλθόντων τε διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν αὐτοῦ πλειόνων παίδων τε καὶ ἐ-  
 φ]ήβων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν πειπτόντων, προέστη  
 τῆς εὐταξίας τῆς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου τῆς  
 ἀρχῆς, ἐμμορεύσας ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ δι' ἐνιαυτ[ο]ῦ· ἔθηκεν δὲ  
 καὶ ἔλαιον ἱκανὸν καὶ ἐπαλείμματα ὡς χαριέστατα· [προσ]χερέστε-  
 10 ρόν τε βουλόμενος τοὺς νέους ὠφελεῖν παρ[έσ]χεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου  
 ὀμ[η-

ρικὸν φιλόλογον Διονύσιον Φιλώτου Ἀθηναῖον, [ὅστις ἐ]σχόλα-  
 ζεν ἐν τῷ[ι  
 γυμνασίῳ τοῖς τε ἐφήβοις καὶ [παισὶν καὶ τοῖς] ἄλλοις πᾶσι τοῖς  
 ο]ικείως διακειμένοις πρὸς παιδ[εῖαν· συνετέλει δὲ καθ' ἕκ]αστον  
 μ[ῆ-  
 να] θυσίαν τῷ τε Ἑρμε[ῖ καὶ τῷ Ἑρακλεῖ ὑπὲρ τῶν παίδων καὶ  
 τῶν ἐφήβων  
 15 καὶ τ]ῶν ἄλλ[ων πάντων -----

## TRANSLATION.

"The *Probouloi* moved: Whereas Mantidoros, son of Kallikrates, elected gymnasiarch by the people, in all matters connected with his office bore himself honorably and in a manner worthy of himself and of his ancestors and of the trust imposed upon him by the people; and when a considerable number of boys and of *epheboi* and of others subject to his jurisdiction came together through his endeavors, he took charge of their deportment in the place during the whole period of his magistracy, abiding in the gymnasium throughout the year; and he furnished sufficient oil, and unguents as choice as possible; and desiring to benefit the youth more readily he provided at his own expense a Homeric scholar, Dionysios, son of Philotas, an Athenian, who devoted himself in the gymnasium to the *epheboi* and the boys and all the others properly disposed toward instruction; and he performed each month a sacrifice to Hermes and to Herakles in behalf of the boys and the *epheboi* and all the others . . . . ."

## COMMENTARY.

This inscription (*Fig. 2*) was found in the circular room of the gymnasium two feet below the modern level of the soil. In material and shape it resembles No. I, though it is thicker. At line 1 its width is 0.415 m. The letters average a trifle smaller than those in No. I. In general the notes on Inscription No. I are to be consulted, as the two inscriptions are very similar. Of orthographic peculiarities there are none.

*Γαῦρος* is the only name in the crown which is not of frequent occurrence, but *cf. CIG. 6176, CIA. III. 1098*. Of the six words in the crown, the first three are separated from the last three by



a space, and the latter set of three, strangely enough, have the form of an epitaph.

L. 9, *ἐπαλείμματα* is plainly different from *ἐλαιον*, which was not so certain in the case of the *ἄλειμμα* of No. I, l. 24. It may refer to perfumed oil or ointment: *cf.* DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* 246, l. 37, *ἐτίθει δὲ καὶ ἐπαλείμματα.*

L. 9, [*προσ*]χερέστερον. The *ο* of the *προσ-* is visible in a squeeze and traces of the *ρ* and the *σ*. Athenaeus, 149 b, has *πρόσχερος* for the more usual *πρόχειρος*, which establishes the word, though it is a rare one. See KÜHNER-BLASS, *Griech. Grammatik*, I. § 154, 4c for analogously formed comparatives.

L. 10 f., *ὀμηρικὸν φιλόλογον*. The place of Homer in Greek education is too well known to need illustration. Even if Alexandria and Pergamon long held the first rank in advanced Homeric study, it is not supposable that Athens was not also active in the same field. It is, however, for the first time that we meet an Athenian with a reputation as a Homeric scholar wide enough to bring about his call to another city there to give instruction. Not only the boys and the *epheboi* but also all with any desire for education had the privilege of attending upon his work at Eretria.

L. 13. For the restoration, *cf.* No. I, l. 15 and DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* No. 246, l. 35, where monthly sacrifices are referred to.

L. 14. The *τέ* before *Ἑρμῆι* makes it necessary to add another divinity, and Heracles is the one of all most suitable: *cf.* note on l. 16 of Inscr. I, and DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* 246, ll. 62, 78. The remainder of the sentence may be compared with *ib.* l. 67 and with ll. 5 and 12 of the inscription itself.

### III.

ΦΙΛΟΠΟΝΙΑΣ  
ΠΑΙΔΩΝ  
ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ  
ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥ

Φιλοπονίας  
παίδων  
Παράμονος  
Δωροθέου.

The above inscription is cut in a wreath 0.14 m. in diameter, in

style like No. 19 on pl. XI of *Papers Am. School*, Vol. v. The wreath is close to the top of the stone, which is of fine Pentelic marble, 0.505 m. high, 0.415 m. broad, and 0.45 m. from front to back. The letters average 0.008 m. high, and all the lines but the second are crowded by the wreath. The stone is *in situ* in one of the western rooms of the gymnasium at Eretria. The inscription is of about the same period as Nos. I and II.

*Φιλοπονία* is a word which occurs not infrequently in inscriptions dealing with gymnastic and ephebic affairs.<sup>47</sup> The idea it conveys is the abstraction of the quality expressed by the adjective *φιλόπονος*, which the lexicographers define as *σπουδαίος*, *φιλεργός*, or "industrious," "diligent." The Samian inscription, DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* No. 396, is a list of awards for excellence in certain things: *καταπάλης*, *ἀκόντιον*, *τόξον*, *ὄπλομαχία*, *θυρεαμαχία*, *δόλιχος*, *στάδιον*, *δίαυλος*, *εὐεξία*, *εὐταξία*, *φιλοπονία*, *λιθοβόλος*. These divide themselves into purely warlike and athletic contests, on the one hand, and on the other are *εὐεξία*, *εὐταξία* and *φιλοπονία*. The first signifies general bodily excellence,<sup>48</sup> the second good order, general deportment, and *φιλοπονία* diligence in the required work. It must refer to a period of some length, which would perhaps correspond to a school-year. The genitive (of cause) is not elsewhere found alone in such inscriptions, so far as we have been able to discover. The dative is used at times with *ἐπί* to express this, *e. g.*, *CIG.* 2384b, or the genitive with *ἐνεκα*, *e. g.*, *CIA.* II. 1345, 1358, and in *CIG.* 2873 the nominative is used of the cause. *παίδων* refers to the class to whom the competition was open: it was a contest where boys were concerned, not *epheboi*.

The two remaining words are somewhat of a puzzle in the relation they express to the two words preceding them. Perhaps the most satisfactory rendering is "Paramonos, son of Dorotheos, for diligence among the boys"—received the award. The award being made, the fact was engraved on a stone within a wreath and set up in the gymnasium. Did anything stand on the stone? Its top is smooth, not adapted to receive another stone above it. If the other extended over the edge, the inscrip-

<sup>47</sup> Cf. DITTENBERGER, *SIG.* No. 246, ll. 39, 71, 83, and the ephebic inscriptions from Athens: also DEMOSTHENES LXI. 26.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. note on l. 7 of Inscr. I.

tion would scarcely be seen, it was so close to the top of the stone, and the stone itself was so low. There are no traces of dowels or the like which fastened an object to it. If anything were put on it as a base, that something must have been removable at pleasure. Perhaps the prize which was awarded to Paramonos was dedicated by him and set on this stone in the gymnasium as a monument of his diligence.

## IV.

ΗΓΗΡΙΗΞΚΑΛΛΙΩ. Ἡγηρίης Καλλῶ.

This grave-stele is of native stone, 0.53 m. by 0.42 m., and was found built into the north wall of the room west of that containing the basins in the gymnasium which was mentioned as the finding-place of Inscriptions I, II, III. The letters average 0.033 m. high, and are evenly though faintly cut. The  $\sigma$  has branching and rather short top and bottom bars; the right-hand part of the  $\kappa$  does not reach the level of either end of the vertical stroke; the  $\omega$  is smaller than the rest of the letters, and has nearly vertical sides. The inscription may be assigned to the fourth century.

These two names are good instances of the Ionic dialect as it prevailed at Eretria. Ἡγηρίης is the Eretrian form of the Ionic Ἡγησίας. For the rhotacism, cf. MEYER, *Griech. Gram.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 228; BECHTEL, *Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*, p. 12; SMYTH, *Ionic Dialect*, § 331.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The inscription containing a list of Eretrian proper names published by TSOUNTAS in *Eph. Arch.* 1887, pp. 83-110 (cf. STAUROPOULLOS in *Eph. Arch.* 1895, pp. 131-144) has the following cases of rhotacism: Κηφιῶν 64 c; Κτηρίας 78 B, 177 A, 224; Κτηρίωνος 188 c; Κτηριβίου 31 c, 235; Κτηριβιάδης 182 B; Κτηρικεῖδου 132 B; Λυραίας 3 c, 34 B, 161 c; Λυραίου 151 B; Λυριδήμου 177 c; Μνηρίμαχος 164 c; Μνηριμάχου 69 A, 140 A, 165 c; Ὀνήριμος 151 c, 157 B, 219; Ὀνηρίμου 149 B, 152 c; Τελερίας 110 B, 120 A; Τελερίου 109 B, 119 A, 126 B. BAUNACK, *Studien* I. p. 299, adds Αἰριπίδου 38 c, but FICK, *Personennamen*,<sup>2</sup> p. 4 a, takes this as Αἰριπίδου and so excludes rhotacism.

In the list of names in *Eph. Arch.*, 2d series (1869), p. 320, No. 404γ (=BECHTEL 16 c) Μίργος occurs in l. 14, with which may be compared the form Μίργων on the lead tablets from Styra, BECHTEL, 19: 25, 71 (=ROEHL, *IGA.* 372: 70, 73). In l. 37 is -ήριππος, which TSOUNTAS (*Eph. Arch.* 1887, p. 110, note 2) reads Κτήριππος, but WILHELM (*ib.* 1892, p. 140, note 1) Ἡγήριππος. This name is found in the ephēbe-list published by the last-named, *ib.* p. 136, No. 7, l. 20, Ἡγήριππος Ἡγηρίων[ων]; also l. 24, Ὀνήριμος. STAUROPOULLOS (*Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 144, No. III, l. 20) reads differently from Wilhelm, Ἡγηριων[ων].

WILHELM (*Eph. Arch.* 1892, p. 145, No. 22) published the name Τιμηρίη, and

Among the Eretrian proper names showing rhotacism *Κτηρίας* and *Τελερίας* most closely resemble *Ἥγηρίης* as regards the place of the rhotacism, while *Ἥγηριππος* and *Ἥγηρίνικος* are words from the same root.<sup>50</sup>

On the Ionic ending *-ης* in the nominative of the masculines of the *a-* declension, cf. *SMYTH* § 415, 2, where examples are given. Five instances, four from Bechtel, will suffice here: No. 19, 56 *Κριτίης*; 19, 276 *Ξανθίης*; 19, 445 *Σωσίης* (all from Styra); 78B 3 *Παυσανίης*, from Thasos; and *Athena*, v. p. 354, No. 30, *Λυρανίης*.

The genitive *Καλλίω* may be compared with *Χαιρίω* (*Eph. Arch.* 1887, p. 101, l. 122B, 123B from Eretria; *Παυσανίω* (BECHTEL, 163:16) from Abdera; *Ἀσίω* (BECHTEL, 174c) from Chios. In general, vide *SMYTH*, *op. cit.*, § 427, and cf. *ΣΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΥΛΛΟΣ* in *Eph. Arch.* 1895, p. 131, note on 16a.

## V.

Κ Α Λ Λ Ι Μ Α × Η. *Καλλιμάχη.*

Grave-stele on a roughly wrought slab of limestone, 0.50 m. high, 0.41 m. wide, 0.07 m. thick. Across the stone a band is cut, lower and smoother than the rest of the surface, to receive the inscription. The stone was found just north of the circular room in the gymnasium and very near the surface. The letters are 0.04 m. high and carefully cut, the ends of the strokes being gradually broadened. The limbs of the *α*, *λ*, *μ* and *η* are slightly curved and impart a distinct grace to the letters. Probably it is from the third century.

## VI.

Θ Ε Ο Δ Ο Τ Η *Θεοδότη.*

Grave-stele on piece of roughly wrought marble, 0.73 m. × 0.35 m. × 0.15 m., built into the wall of a mediæval tower on the island of Hagia Triada, just off the eastern horn of the harbor of Eretria. The letters are about 0.04 m. high.

*ΣΤΑΥΡΟΠΟΥΛΛΟΣ*, *Athena*, v. p. 354, No. 21, *Τιμηρίππη*, No. 30, *Λυρανίης*. *Κτηρίης* is found on another of the Styra tablets, BECHTEL, 19: 438. *Κτήριλλα* is instanced in *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1891, p. 248, No. 7.

TSOUNTAS (*l. c.*) corrected the reading *Αίριμαχος* of Eustratiades (*Eph. Arch.* 1869, p. 319, No. 404β, l. 40) to *Λυριμαχος*.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. FICK<sup>2</sup>, p. 134f.

## VII.



Fragment of marble, 0.16 m. broad at the top and 0.17 m. high. Letters 0.015 m. to 0.018 m. in height. It was found in the gymnasium in the northeast corner of the room west of that containing the basins

## VIII.



On a marble moulding. Surface preserved measures 0.56 m. by 0.38 m. The letters are 0.02 m. high. Found in the doorway of the basin-room of the gymnasium with fragments of sculpture.

## IX.



Fragment of moulding of coarse marble irregularly broken. Total height, 0.10 m.; depth from front to back, 0.12 m.; inscribed face, 0.17 m. by 0.05 m.; letters, 0.02 m. high. Found near centre of canal which surrounds the orchestra in the theatre.

## STAMPED TILES.

The following fragments of stamped tiles were all found in the gymnasium.

1. (a) ΕΡΕΤΡ      Fragment measures about 0.10 m. by  
0.10 m. by 0.02 m.

(b) ΕΡΕΤ

(c) ΛΝ

The height of letters of these three pieces is 0.016 m. All are from the same stamp, which reads 'Ερετριέων.

2. Δ Η. The tile has original breadth 0.175 m., and the fragment is 0.30 m. long. The stamp is an oval 0.085 m. by 0.045 m., and the letters are 0.01 m. high. There is room at the right for another letter in each line (the surface is much worn). Probably we should read Δ Η Λ

Ε Ρ Ε

3. Δ Η. Fragment 0.07 m. by 0.03 m.; letters 0.019 m. high. Probably the stamp was Δήμος (or Δήμου) 'Ερετριέων.<sup>51</sup>

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

T. W. HEERMANCE.

Athens, February, 1896.

<sup>51</sup> For stamped tiles from Eretria, as previously found, cf. *Argive Heraeum papers* below, p. 261, note 10, and p. 263, note 19; also *Eleventh Annual Report of the American School at Athens* (1891-92), p. 40.

## REPORTS ON EXCAVATIONS AT SPARTA IN 1893.

In the reports on the excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in 1892 to the President of the Archæological Institute of America,<sup>1</sup> as well as to the Chairman of the Managing Committee of the School,<sup>2</sup> mention was made of the excavations at Sparta in the spring of that year. The chief definite result of these excavations was the apparent discovery of the "circular building" spoken of by Pausanias<sup>3</sup> as being close to the *Skias*.

Before the work of excavating was begun the site presented the appearance of a round mound of earth about forty-four metres in diameter at the base, lying on the gentle slope of a ridge with the summit of which the upper surface of the mound was continuous at the northwest. The sides of the mound rise steeply, and the summit, though nearly level, has a slight slope from northwest to southeast. The surface of the mound is highest above the slope of the ridge at its southern side (about six metres).

The excavations conducted in 1893 revealed the existence of a large wall of Hellenic construction following the line of the circumference of the mound for some distance in an easterly direction from the point marked *Z* on Fig. 1. At the easternmost point of this line there were evident traces of repair in a subsequent period of the history of this building; while a few feet to the southeast of the wall, at this point, there were Roman remains of a brick structure in fair preservation. On the upper surface of the mound last year's work also brought to light a large basis for a statue, or group

<sup>1</sup> *Thirteenth Annual Report*, p. 66, *seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Eleventh Annual Report of the Managing Committee, Director's Report*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> 3. xii, 9. πρὸς δὲ τῇ Σκιάδι οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι περιφερές, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ Διὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀγάλματα ἐπέκλῃσιν Ὀλυμπίων· τοῦτο Ἐπιμενίδην κατασκευάσαι λέγουσιν, οἷχ δμολογοῦντες τὰ ἐς αὐτὸν Ἀργεῖους, ὅπου μὴδὲ πολεμήσαι φασὶ πρὸς Κνωσίους.

of statues, and in close proximity to this, the thumb of a marble colossal statue, probably holding a sceptre. From the workmanship of this thumb the statue does not appear to have been of early date; it probably belonged to the Roman or the Hellenistic age.

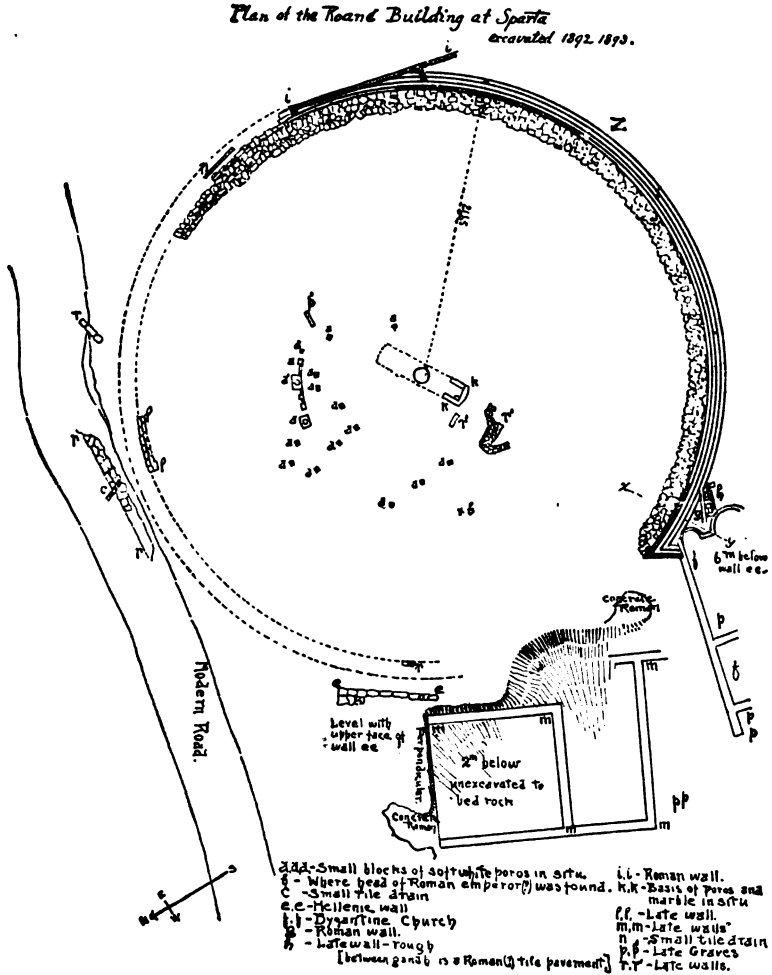


FIG. 1.

On April 15 Professor Waldstein and Mr. Meader began work, which was carried on without interruption until April 25. After the beginning was made the work was left in the



hands of Mr. Meader, who was assisted during the last day in taking photographs and making measurements by Mr. Richard Norton. The account of the work here given is from Mr. Meader's notes :

Work was begun by sinking a curved trench westward from *Z*, where it was hoped the continuation of the wall would be found. The first day's excavation, however, resulted only in the discovery of a Byzantine church as indicated on Fig. 17, a number of late graves (marked *p p p*), which contained only the skeletons of the buried, and at *m m m* several late walls built with larger or smaller worked and unworked stones and brick set in mortar. Two men were also set at work on the east side of the mound to follow still further the wall there found. On the following day the western trench was widened toward the centre of the mound and the circular wall was again brought to light. On this and the following days the wall was followed to its termination near the Byzantine church, where it was found to be joined at an acute angle by a second piece of curved wall of similar construction, and as closely as can be determined from the small arc preserved, of the same radius. The eastern end of the wall was also found to extend several metres beyond the point to which it was uncovered last year.

The diameter of the circle upon which the wall was built was next measured and its centre determined. The radius of the circle of the outermost (lowest) part of the wall was found to be 21.65 m., and with this radius the line of the still unexcavated part of the circle was laid out. All of this arc of the circle (nearly 180°) lies high upon the top of the mound. A trench dug along this arc resulted in the discovery of no part of the original structure. At *ll* was found a late wall lying exactly upon the line which the old wall must have followed if it existed here, and slightly curved. The bricks and mortar employed in the construction of this wall show that it is not part of the original structure. The digging of trenches outside this line brought to light only late walls. At *g*, and *ii*, are two walls, apparently Roman, built in the characteristic Roman manner, with two faces of triangular bricks and a filling of concrete. At *rr* were found much later walls built of stones of irregular shapes and

various sizes, bricks and pieces of marble all set in mortar. None of the marble was found to contain sculptural remains or inscriptions on the exposed faces. At *c* and *m* two small tile-drains were found (diameter about 10 cm.). The tiles are of coarse clay and are joined with mortar.

The depth of soil with which the circular wall was covered varied in different places. It was least at the south, where it scarcely exceeded a metre, and greatest at the east, where the lower part of the wall is about  $3\frac{1}{4}$  metres below the surface.

The work of clearing the surface of the mound had meanwhile been begun, and was finished on April 24. The highest point of the upper surface of the mound lies, as stated above, at the northwest, just back of the wall *ee*, where there is a small plateau about 7 m. square. Here the surface-soil is very thin and the bed-rock (a fairly hard, yellowish poros stone) is exposed in places. From this point the surface of the mound sinks slowly toward the southeast and the bed-rock dips a little more rapidly in the same direction, thus sinking gradually deeper below the surface. Toward the south the rock passes into a soft yellow sandstone. Every point of the surface of the rock was at one time or another exposed to view and examined. To save the expense of conveying the soil to a distance by carts, that from the newer diggings was continually thrown backward upon the part already excavated and mapped, and the whole surface was in this manner recovered.

The surface of the rock was found to be weathered into irregular cavities. Near the centre, however, an area had been artificially levelled and smoothed for the reception of the basis discovered last year, and probably for a pavement about it. Exactly at the centre of the arc of the large circular wall a round well-like cavity, one metre in diameter and about half a metre deep, with perpendicular sides, was cut in the rock. In the bottom of this was a second hole about .40 m. in diameter and .50 m. deep. Accurate measurements are not possible.

On the upper surface of the rock was found (besides the basis discovered last year) a number of blocks of soft poros stone *in situ*. The poros stone is of a finer quality than that of

the bed-rock, being nearly white (slightly creamy in tint) and very soft. It can be cut with a dull knife and scratched with the finger nail. In most cases the bed-rock has been cut to fit these poros blocks. At *ee* was found, only a few inches below the surface, a wall, 7 m. long, of excellent Hellenic construction, consisting of rectangular blocks of hard limestone, varying slightly in length and breadth and carefully fitted without the use of clamps or mortar. A small depression in the rock at the eastern end is filled with a bit of polygonally fitted pavement, the upper surface of which is continuous with that part of the wall. The breadth of the wall varies from .40 m. to .60 m. At *r', r'* were found two pieces of Byzantine or Turkish wall, and at *f* a late grave.

The large circular wall is essentially a retaining-wall. Its main strength is afforded by a heavy wall of unworked stones piled upon one another and fitted together without the use of clamps or mortar. Its thickness varies from .80 m. to one metre. The mode of construction is indicated in the section, Fig. 2. This rough wall was originally masked with a facing of breccia, which has been entirely destroyed in its upper part. Enough remains of the lower courses to give a fair idea of what it originally was. It consisted of the usual Greek basement of three steps, upon which rested a vertical wall of about .40 m. in thickness and of unknown height. The wall is best preserved near the eastern end, where (through *xy*) the section (Fig. 2) is taken. There are here preserved three courses of the wall. The lowest is a range of *orthostatai*, or stones set on edge, .40 m. in thickness and 1.30 m. in height (about 4 Greek feet). Their length varies from 1.50 to 3 metres. Upon these lies a band of unpolished red marble .30 m. high and .70 m. broad, having cut upon its upper face a broad, shallow channel to form a bed for the next course of stones above. This consists again of *orthostatai*, here .97 m. (3 Greek feet) high and .43 m. thick. Only one of these blocks is still preserved *in situ*. The steps of the basement vary in height and width, as shown in the section. The broadest and highest is that at the bottom and the narrowest and lowest is the uppermost one. The top step has on its upper face a jointing surface, slightly hollowed, for the reception of the *orthostatai*, as is shown in the section. The entire wall is sup-

ported upon a foundation built of rough stones piled upon one another (see section). This foundation is at least a metre in vertical thickness at *z*, where a trench was dug to examine it. The character of the upper courses of the breccia wall is unknown as none of them are preserved. The original height of the wall can scarcely have been two metres greater than that now preserved, as the upper face of stone *f* (Fig. 2) is

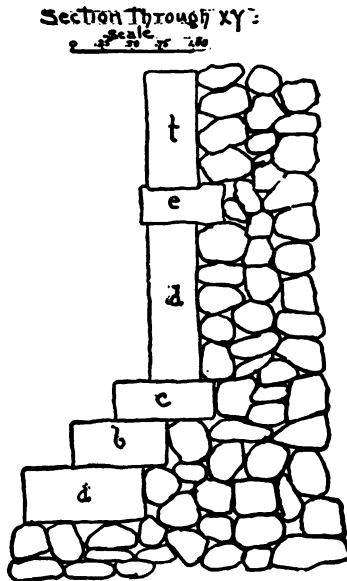


FIG. 2.

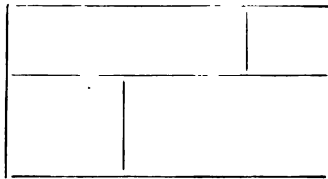
less than two metres below the level of the basis *kk*, above which the original upper surface of the mound cannot have extended.

The rough inner retaining-wall is preserved for a length of about 68 m. measuring along the circuit from the western corner. The height of the preserved part varies from .50 m. to 2 m. above the top step of the basement. The uppermost step of the basement is preserved for a length of 56.65 m., and the lower steps for about the same distance with the exception of a few metres near *z*, where several blocks have fallen out of position. Of the lower course of *orthostatai* ten blocks are preserved *in situ*, two near the western corner (aggregating 5.90 m. in length) and eight east of the point *z*.

These are indicated on Fig. 1 by the ruled surfaces. Only two stones of the next (the narrow) course above are preserved, and only one block of the second range of *orthostatai*. These last stones are all at the western corner.

From the point *s* the *orthostatai* have been removed from position and a very roughly built wall of breccia blocks of various sizes built in their place. These blocks are laid upon one another carelessly without fitting or fastening of any kind, and no attempt has been made to give the wall a smooth outer face; it is such a wall as might be hurriedly constructed for purposes of defense. No mortar or clamps are used, and a large block of marble, an architectural fragment, has been built in with the breccia.

As stated above, the circular wall is joined at its western extremity by a second wall of similar construction and likewise curved. It also has the rough stone supporting wall and the facing of breccia resting upon a basement of three steps. The two walls are joined at their meeting point with much skill and are apparently contemporary. The only difference in their method of construction is that, answering to the *orthostatai* in the former wall, we have in the latter four quadrilateral blocks carefully joined, thus :



The combined height of the two courses is exactly that of the *orthostatai* to which they correspond.

Unfortunately this wall is preserved for a length of only 2.25 m., when it is interrupted by the Byzantine church. As the level of the church is below that of the wall, all traces of the latter have been destroyed and it is now impossible to state how far it extended. Possibly it formed a semicircle, or even a larger arc, and like the longer wall supported the earth of a second mound since entirely destroyed. The ground lies so low west of the Byzantine church that it is hard to believe that any further remains of the wall could be

discovered by excavating there. This entire area has been built and rebuilt in later Roman and Byzantine times, so that its original form is entirely lost.

The excavations have thus established the fact that we have here to deal not with a building in the proper sense of the word, but with a large circular stereobate or perhaps two such adjacent to each other, assuming the possibility that the second short wall is the remains of a second stereobate. This being the case, it becomes necessary to enquire as to the possible object of such a foundation; *i. e.*, as to the form of the structure that rested upon it.

Owing to the elevation and the exposed position of the surface of the supporting terrace the greater part of the structure or structures upon it has been destroyed. The scanty remains that now exist are indicated upon the plans. Fig. 1 shows their position upon the terrace; Fig. 3 shows more exactly the relative positions of the stones to one another; Fig. 4 shows on a larger scale the exact size and relative positions of the most important of these remains; and Fig. 4-IV. shows a cross-section of the stone numbered 4 on Figures 1 and 3. The walls *h*, *r*, and *r'* are late and do not concern us. We have therefore to take account only of those blocks which are marked *a*, *a* and *k* upon Fig. 1.

As already stated, all the blocks marked *a* and *a'* are of very soft white poros. They number twenty-two and are all *in situ*. Each approximates toward the rectangular form, but usually varies a little from it. The vertical faces of most of them are left rough, but the top faces without exception are carefully smoothed and horizontal. In most cases the native rock has been cut away to fit the blocks and form a solid bed for them. The extant blocks are all arranged nearly in concentric circles about the point *c'*, which lies very close to the centre *c* of the arc of the retaining-wall. The surface of the rock, as we have already seen, is levelled for a space about the centre for the reception of the basis *z*. From this level, however, it gradually rises toward the north and east, so that the upper faces of the poros blocks in each circle are higher than those of the blocks in the next circle within. The absence of necessary instruments rendered the

exact measurement of the relative height of the blocks impossible. The slope of the rock is, however, very slight, and block No. 7 (Fig. 3) lies scarcely more than half a

*II General Plan of Poros Blocks in Situ.*

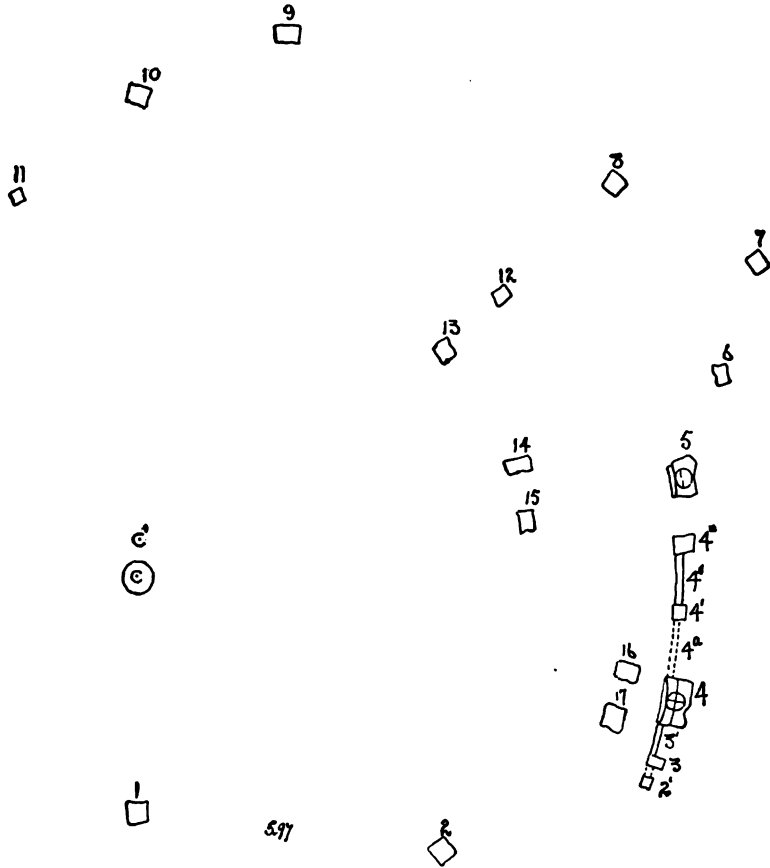


FIG. 3.

metre above the central area, although it is the highest of all the blocks and the furthest removed from the centre (10.85 m.). The arrangement is thus that of the cavea of a theatre, with a very slight slope. All the blocks except one lie north of a line drawn due east and west through the centre *c*. This, however, does not prove that none formerly

existed south of this line. They may indeed have formed a complete circuit about the centre. The rock south of the line mentioned lies low and sinks steadily toward the south. The blocks, if they existed, must therefore have lain embedded in the soil above the native rock and have long since been torn out of their exposed position and destroyed. There seems to be no evidence either to prove or to disprove the existence of a system of blocks in the southern half of this circle similar to that in the northern half.

The larger number of these blocks have no architectural form, and their smoothed upper faces suggest that they served as supports for the slabs of a pavement. Eight of the blocks, however, because of the peculiarities of their forms and position, demand especial attention. All have their faces in the same horizontal plane. They are so placed that the inner edges of 2', 3', 4<sup>a</sup>, 4', 4'' and 4''' (Fig. 3) lie exactly on the line of a circle struck about *c'*, while blocks 3, 4, and 5 have along their upper inner edge a rabbet (.05 m. deep and .05 m. wide), the vertical face of which also lies along this same circle as shown by the dotted lines which are struck across the three stones on Fig. 4. This rabbet is shown in the section Fig. 4-IV. The southern vertical faces of stones 4 and 5 are straight (see Fig. 4), but the vertical faces of the two rabbets are cut on the circle. The horizontal faces of the rabbets are thus about a centimetre wider at the middle (*i. e.*, at *c* and *h*) than at the ends. On the upper face of each of these stones there is a circular surface raised a little more than a centimetre above the rest of the surface of the stone, and .42 m. in diameter. Although the edges of the circles have been broken in parts, yet accurate measurement of their diameters is possible. The two circles (one on each stone) agree in size. On the upper surfaces of each of these two circles are incised two grooves having a triangular cross-section; see section, Fig. 4-IV. These grooves are small; about .004 m. broad at the top and .003 m. deep. They can also be traced in places on the other parts of the top faces of the two stones. They are indicated on Fig. 20 by the lines *ab*, *cd*, *ef*, *gh*; *ab* and *ef* are cut upon a line of a circle concentric with that upon which the inner edges of the stones and the vertical faces of the rabbets lie, while *cd*



and *g h* are cut along radii of the same circle. The radial lines cross the circular ones exactly at the centre of the raised circular faces. These lines doubtless served constructional purposes, probably to mark the central point upon which a column was to be placed. The surface of the stones about the circles is not smoothed, but has the appearance of having been rudely broken and cracked away. Such

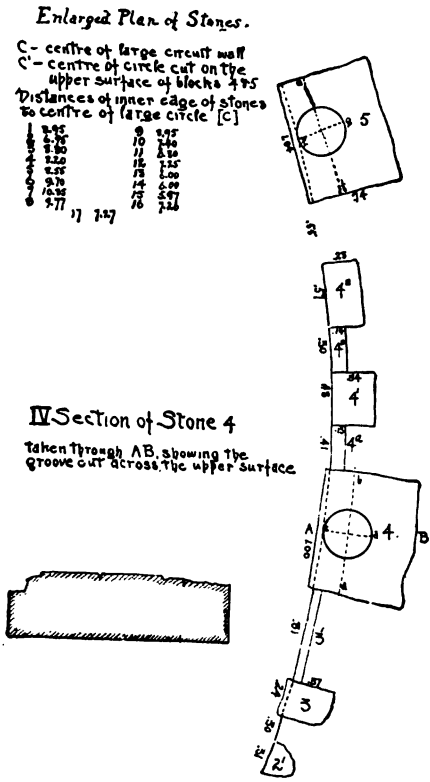


FIG. 4.

a destruction is one that would naturally result while the columns were still *in situ* if the soft poros stone were subjected to violent usage; the portion about the columns would be broken away while the surface upon which the columns stood would be preserved. It is a curious coincidence that within two yards of these blocks were found two small Doric columns of white marble (.39 m. in diameter at

the base and about 1.40 m. high). The diameter of the columns is very close to that of the circular surfaces on the blocks, and it is probable that the columns originally stood upon them. A small fragment of a third column, agreeing in material, size, and style with these two, was also found in the trench east of the building. There was found, too, a small piece of a Doric capital measuring .13 m. from the annulets to the bottom of the abacus. The size corresponds well with that of the columns. The fragment of a triglyph of which one band measures .135 m., thus giving .405 as the full width, is too large to belong with the columns. The existence of the Doric columns, however, makes almost necessary the assumption also of the usual Doric entablature with triglyph-frieze. If such an entablature existed here, it was of course curved. No fragments of a curved architrave have been found. Built into the late wall reconstructed along the line of the circular wall north of *s* (Fig. 1), there is a curved marble block which may be from an architrave. It has still the boss upon its surface. The radius of the curve upon which its faces are cut is, however, much smaller than that of the curve along which the columns stood, and it cannot have belonged to them.

The rabbets cut along the edges of the stones 3, 4, and 5 appear to have served as supports for pavement-slabs. Indeed, on the western and eastern vertical faces of stone 4 there are joint-surfaces, which prove the existence of at least another block on each side.

It thus appears probable that the large circular terrace supported a circular colonnade paved with marble or poros (probably the former; as soft poros here employed would scarcely have stood the wear to which a pavement is subjected) having in its centre a flat area containing a basis supporting a statue or a group. The form of the part of the basis still preserved is seen by a glance at Fig. 1. It is complete at the eastern end. If we conceive of it as originally having extended as far east of the circle as the western end lies west of the circle, we have a basis of the shape indicated by the dotted lines on Fig. 1.

There still remains the wall *e e*, which is beyond doubt of Hellenic workmanship and of a good period. It consists of

a single course. The length of the preserved part is seven metres. It is complete at the western end. The eastern face of the last stone toward the east bears a joint-surface, which proves that the wall extended still further in this direction: how far is uncertain. The top face bears a joint-surface .15 m. broad and .005 m. above the rest of the face of the stone. This joint-surface turns at the eastern end, not exactly at a right angle.

The wall is entirely isolated from all vestiges of other walls, and there exists no clue to the form of the structure to which it belonged. Its position, however, at the highest point of the terrace along the eastern side of the small plateau mentioned above, at the natural point of approach to the terrace, suggests that there existed here a sort of propylæa, by which access was given to the terrace and colonnade.

The small objects brought to light by the excavations are of little importance. No work of art was found which can be assigned to a period as early as the third century B. C. The finds were all or almost all Roman or Byzantine.

Of sculpture there were found the following pieces:

(a) The head of a Roman emperor (?); white marble. The head, of natural size, is bearded and hence later than Trajan. It is, moreover, cut in very flat relief. The work is very poor. The features are cruel, and the face bears some resemblance to the portraits of Caracalla. The circles of the iris of the eyes are deeply incised, and the pupils are indicated by a hollow. Found on top of terrace, thirteen metres directly in front of the west end of wall *e e*, at the point marked *b* on Fig. 1.

(b) Fragment of a relief—lower right-hand corner. Found in trench east of large wall at a depth of two metres. Size .26 x .30 m.; white marble; represents a standing man holding his robe across his breast with his right hand. The piece is much mutilated; head and face are broken away. Work poor.

(c) Fragments of a relief; white marble; .08 x .12 m., representing a draped woman from the breasts to the knees. Very poor work.

(d) Fragment of drapery .25 m. long. The folds are large

enough to have belonged to a statue of natural size. Found on surface of terrace near the centre.

(*e*) A wrist, natural size, .95 m. long and .18 m. in circumference; white marble with blue veins. Upon the wrist a few folds of drapery which were clasped by the fingers; about it a raised convex ridge—perhaps a bracelet or the remains of a finger which clasped it.

(*f*) South of the building, in trench, a fragment of drapery in white marble, .175 m. x .17 m.

(*h*) In the trench at the west a white marble slab (size .28 x .35 x .08 m.) bearing in mezzo-rilievo, in the centre, an urn with two handles, ornamented; at the right a fragment of a tendril, conventionalized, at the left a lion's head facing. This resembles the small metopes from the altar-entablature built into the little Metropolitan church at Athens. After finding this I noticed a second like it in the museum and a third built into an arch in the main street of Sparta.

(*i* and *j*) Capital and base of a Byzantine pilaster; white marble. Both found near the Byzantine church. The latter bears two lion's paws and between them an acanthus leaf.

(*k* to *n*) White marble Corinthian capital. Found in Byzantine church. Base of Ionic column, found on top of terrace (white marble). Fragment of white marble Ionic capital showing part of echinus with egg-and-dart pattern, the inner edge of the volute, and the honeysuckle-blossom between them. Fragment of a small Doric capital, white marble (see above).

(*o*) Coarse clay jar without slip or ornament; height .21 m.; found in east trench.

(*p*) Coarse clay pot, without slip or ornament. Found in the triangle between the Byzantine church and the circular building.

(*q*) A number of Roman and Byzantine coins, many obscure, but none so early as the age of the Antonines. Two small wheels .015 m. in diameter, one of bone and one of blue stone, both pierced by a small hole in the center. Several bone *styli*. Α κομβή.

There is no doubt that we here have to deal with a circular

building in the construction of which a hillock or large mound has been used. The relation of the building to this hillock seemed to me so peculiar that I believed it might be some ancient tumulus or grave, or might at least bear some reference to a prehistoric or heroic place of interment. The Laconian custom (especially the instance of the neighboring Amyclæ with its temple of Apollo built upon the grave of Hyacinthus) and the numerous heroic graves in Sparta itself lent strong support to such a supposition. It is not impossible that this may still turn out to be the case.

The lower structure of this circular building with the *orthostatai* acted as a supporting wall, while the building consisted of at least three concentric circles. It appears probable that the round hole cut in the block occupying the centre of the circumference was meant to hold the mastlike post which supported an umbrella-shaped roof.

Our monument must thus be classed among the round buildings which are of so much interest in the history of Greek architecture. The Prytaneum, the Tholos, the temple of Hestia, perhaps even the Skias<sup>4</sup> were all in origin intimately related to one another. The Prytaneum, or "City-hall," of ancient Athens stood on the high ground at the foot of the northern declivity of the Acropolis. In the time of Pausanias the Prytanes sacrificed and dined in the Tholos, a circular building in a different part of the city, which building thus took over some of the functions of the older Prytaneum.<sup>4</sup> As Mr. Frazer well puts it (p. 152), "The Prytaneum, a round building with a pointed, umbrella-shaped roof, was originally the house of the king, chief, or headman (prytanis) of an independent village or town, and it contained a fire which was kept constantly burning. It is only necessary to add that, when a colony was sent out, the fire

<sup>4</sup> *Etym. Magnum*, s. v. Σκιάς. Were it not for the definite πρὸς δὲ τῇ Σκιάδι οἰκοδόμημά ἐστι περιοπές . . . in the passage in Pausanias referring to the Spartan building one might doubt whether the Spartan Skias was not identical with this circular building.

<sup>4</sup> CURTIUS, *Attische Studien*, ii. p. 63, seq. For Θόλος cf. Hesychius, Harpocration, Suidas, Timæus, *Lex. Plat.*, s. v. θόλος. See also I. G. FRAZER on the *Prytaneum*, the *Temple of Vesta*, etc., in *Journal of Philology*, London, 1885, vol. xiv. p. 145, seq., an article which throws considerable light on the history of these early buildings.

for the chief's house (Prytaneum) in the new village was taken from that of the chief's house in the old village."

The fire (*focus, foculus*, the hearth, *ἑστία, ἑσχάρα, ἑσχάρης*: Vesta) thus becomes the centre of importance in these buildings and the worship and rites connected with them, as it was the centre of importance in the house and household. In the Homeric house it stood in the corner of the *αὐλή*.<sup>6</sup> The same relation obtains in all early civilizations and has led to the round building,<sup>7</sup> be it a *barrow*, or a *dolmen*, or a Sardinian *nuraghe*, or an East Indian *tope*, or the hut of the American Indian. There can be but little doubt that the later Roman temple of Vesta was once part of the king's house, and thus points to the earliest form of house. The tradition of this early form of the temple of Vesta, with walls of wattled osiers and thatched roof, is directly referred to by Ovid.<sup>8</sup>

As regards the whole history of these round buildings, to use Mr. Frazer's words, "we descry in the past the chiefs of the old Græco-Italian clans dwelling in round huts of wattled osiers with peaked roofs of thatch."

The Spartan building thus brings us in relation with the remotest prehistoric times of Hellas and with the earliest stages of civilization in all parts of the world. This building has evidently undergone many changes during the Roman and Christian periods of its history. The statues of Zeus and Aphrodite, mentioned by Pausanias as standing in the building in his time, were of subsequent date. The finger of the colossal statue found last year, in the immediate vicinity of the statue-pedestal on the central height of the building, manifestly belongs to a period not earlier than the close of the fourth century B. C., and may be Roman. There are other fragments and heads of distinctly Roman workmanship found on the site; while some traces of repairs in the early building itself, as well as most of the additions to it, are of the Roman times. So, too, the inscriptions are of the Roman period. On the other hand the *boustrophedon* in-

<sup>6</sup> *Od.* xxii. 466 (Schol. *ibid.*) makes it the storehouse. It may thus have resembled the *θησαυρός*, and hence the bee-hive tomb.

<sup>7</sup> FERGUSSON, *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries*, London, 1872.

<sup>8</sup> *Fasti* vi. 261 *seq.*

scription found on the same site evidently belongs to the archaic Greek period. It appears beyond a doubt that the circular wall with the *orthostatai* is of early Hellenic structure. The poros blocks *in situ* probably also belong to this



FIG. 5.

early Hellenic building. The identification of this edifice with the circular building mentioned by Pausanias<sup>9</sup> is most natural. The masonry of the large stones, without clamps or mortar, points to an age preceding the early historical buildings of the fifth century B. C.

Epimenides, to whom this building is assigned by Pausanias, furnishes us with a date which corresponds well with the archæological evidence. We cannot go far wrong in fixing upon the year 600 B. C. as an approximate central date. It may have been erected several years earlier in the life of Epimenides, but as he appears, according to one tradition, to have died at Sparta, perhaps the beginning of the sixth century may be a more likely date. In the traditions concerning Epimenides<sup>10</sup> there are no doubt uncritical and myth-

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> The chief sources are *DIOG. LAERT.* i § 109-115; *PLUT.*, *Solon.* 22; *STRABO.* x. p. 479 c; *PAUS.* 1, 14, 3.

ical admixtures, but he appears to have been one of the early hieratic poets from Crete," who exercised considerable influence in his age in the various centres of Greek life. He was a sage and spiritual purifier. It is no doubt owing to this great influence that the more fabulous elements have been in later times attracted to his name. The fixed and important date in his life is furnished by the call he received from Athens to purify from the Cylonian sacrilege, in which the Athenians followed the dictates of a Delphic oracle. This most probably took place in the first year of the 46th Olympiad, *i. e.*, 596 B. C., a few years before the Archonship of Solon (594 B. C.).

If we are right in the identification of this building, it will readily be seen of what signal importance for the history of Greek architecture this monument is. As a *tholos*, or circular building, it points back to the very earliest form of primitive architecture; while on the other hand it would be perhaps the earliest known building of the historical period of Greek history.

It furthermore is of the greatest value for the topography of ancient Sparta. The treatises on the topography of Sparta<sup>11</sup> have hitherto necessarily been of a purely hypothetical nature. It is much to the credit of Professor Nestorides that he should have assigned just this place to the "circular building" mentioned by Pausanias, independently of our excavations. With the theatre and this building we now have two fixed points of departure. The Skias must be close by; while it appears to us that we might look for the Agora to the south of the mound running toward the theatre; but much closer to the hills than has hitherto been supposed. Still, even at this moment, with the new point gained, it appears to us that reconstructions of the ancient topography of Sparta are premature. We must wait for further evidence from the spade and pick.

<sup>11</sup> He was a native of Phæstos near Gortyna or of Knossos in Crete.

<sup>12</sup> Besides A. Blouet, *Expédition Scientif. de Morée*, Paris, 1838 (where an amphitheatre, not to be confused with this circular building, is given in III. Pl. 46 on the southeastern slope of "Citadelle"), and E. Curtius, *Der Peloponnesos*, we might mention K. Stein, *Die Topographie des Alten Sparta*, and R. Nestorides, *Τοπογραφία τῆς Ἀρχαίας Σπάρτης*, Athens, 1892, which has appeared since our first excavation, though it was written before we began our work.



The system upon which such excavations ought to be carried out in the future seems to us to be clearly defined. Immediately below this mound, running along the foot of the hills in either direction (east and west) are considerable ruins of late city-walls, into which many stones of ancient masonry are built. Now a careful examination of these walls has shown that their bases consist frequently of series of ancient worked stones grouped together; those of one kind are massed together for a certain distance, and are followed by series of other stones of different material and workmanship. The cause for both this uniformity of material for a certain distance, and the diversity in the various sections of the wall, seems to be the fact that the stones in the several instances were taken from ancient buildings close at hand. These ancient buildings are to be sought for in close proximity to the wall. Some of these worked stones bear inscriptions.

The first task of the future excavator will thus be to clear the lower portions of these walls from weeds and shrubs and to dig to the bottom of the walls. It may be found that some of the foundation-stones of ancient structures, are actually *in situ*, and trenches at right angles to them may lead to the other walls of the buildings.

It is not improbable that the Agora and many other structures may thus be discovered, and the greater the number of such identifications the more easy will it be to fix the topography and to find the remaining buildings mentioned by Pausanias.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN,  
C. L. MEADER.

EXCAVATIONS AT THE ARGIVE HERÆUM  
IN 1892.

[PLATE XVI, PLAN.]

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The so-called Argive Heræum is situated at some distance from the site of ancient and modern Argos, just as, for example, the Æginetan temple of Athena was six or eight miles from the ancient city of Ægina, and as the Phigaleans built their temple to Apollo still further away from their town. Although the Heræum was an Argive temple during almost the whole time of Greek history, it doubtless belonged originally not to Argos but to Mycenæ. As Argos increased and Mycenæ decreased in strength, the sanctuary became the common possession and charge of both cities. Finally, with the capture of Mycenæ in 463 B. C.,<sup>1</sup> it fell into the hands of the Argives alone. The temple stood upon a southern spur of the low mountain Eubœa, which itself is a sort of foothill, sloping away toward the south, of the higher mountain Tretus, now Zara, one of the two elevations between which Mycenæ lies. The sacred way to Mycenæ led around Zara, keeping well up on the mountainside. The distance according to Pausanias<sup>2</sup> is fifteen stades.<sup>3</sup> By the present road it is considerably more, perhaps a walk of an hour and a half. The difference is due to the fact that the route now lies through the plain along the foot of Zara, for the beds of the mountain torrents make the higher road impracticable. We noticed the ruins of an ancient bridge which had served to span one of these torrent-beds, and in general the course of the road can be well enough made out. Argos, on the other hand, lies across the plain from the Heræum,

<sup>1</sup> DIODORUS, XI. 65.

<sup>2</sup> PAUS., II. 17.1.

<sup>3</sup> Only ten stades according to Strabo: VIII. 6.2.

exactly three times as far away as Mycenæ according to Herodotus,<sup>4</sup> who makes the distance forty-five stades.<sup>5</sup> The evidence, therefore, of its location seems to show clearly the original connection of the temple with Mycenæ, not with Argos.

The site<sup>6</sup> is a double terrace, bounded on two sides by the streams Eleutherium (to the northwest) and Asterion (to the southeast). Pausanias says that the former (the Eleutherium) flows *κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν*, along or possibly across the way as one comes from Mycenæ, and that it was used by the priestesses for purposes of purification. The second (the Asterion) was, he says, according to legend the father of Eubœa, Prosymna, and Acrœa; therefore the hill opposite the Heræum was called Acrœa, the region about the temple Eubœa, and that below the temple Prosymna. To-day Prosymna is made the name of a demarchy including several villages to the southeast of the Heræum. Eubœa, as I have said, seems to be the name of the whole mountain, and Acrœa is easily recognizable in a hill to the east across the Asterion. Both the Eleutherium and the Asterion, streams that flow down from Eubœa, were quite dry during the whole time we were working, but when Mr. Fox and I revisited the scene two weeks later we found that the Eleutherium had been swollen to a torrent by recent rains.

According to Thucydides,<sup>7</sup> the temple of Hera at Argos was destroyed by fire in 423 B. C. This was the prehistoric Heræum,

<sup>4</sup> HEROD., I. 81. <sup>5</sup> Strabo's estimate (*loc. cit.*) is forty stades.

<sup>6</sup> It was discovered more than fifty years ago by General Gordon (cf. MURE, *Journal of a Tour in Greece*, II. p. 177). His tentative excavations brought to light various sculptured fragments as well as terracotta and bronzes. In 1854 the work was taken up and prosecuted with greater thoroughness by Bursian and Rangabé, who confined themselves, however, to the site of the new temple (*cf. infra*). Its foundations were partially uncovered and several points with regard to the architecture and plan of the temple established; on the other hand, the excavations were rewarded by the discovery of many valuable works of art, heads, torsos and smaller fragments. These were deposited in Argos and have only recently begun to receive the study which they deserve. (See BURSIAN'S report in the *Bullettino*, 1854, II. p. XIII, sq., and RANGABÉ'S *Ausgrabung beim Tempel der Hera unweit Argos*; rough plans of the site are also to be found in MURE, *loc. cit.*, BURSIAN'S *Geographie von Griechenland*, Vol. II, Taf. I. n. 3, and CURTIUS' *Peloponnesos*, Vol. II, Taf. XVI). When we first visited the site no trace was left of the work which our predecessors had done.

<sup>7</sup> THUCYD., IV. 133.

where according to later legend<sup>8</sup> the chiefs chose Agamemnon to be the leader of the Trojan Expedition and whose priestess was Cydippe, when, according to the story that Solon tells Cræsus,<sup>9</sup> her sons Cleobis and Biton drew her car from Argos to the temple and were rewarded by the best gift the goddess could give to men, that is, death. The later Heræum, which rose not out of, but, according to Greek custom, alongside of the ashes of the burned temple, was built, as Pausanias says, by Eupolemus of Argos; the cult-stature of gold and ivory was the work of Polyclitus. Here, therefore, we are dealing with the best period in Greek art and architecture.

With the help of these references from Thucydides and Pausanias and from further topographical allusions in the latter's story, it had been possible long ago to determine the probable sites of both temples mentioned. It will be proper, therefore, at this point to describe the whole precinct more in detail before beginning an account of the work done. The upper terrace (A on the PLAN) on which evidently the older temple once stood, is a nearly level plateau more than fifty metres in length (east to west), and almost equally wide. On the south side, toward the plain, and in part at the ends, it is bounded by a retaining-wall<sup>10</sup> (V on the PLAN) of huge, irregularly shaped stones, such a wall as we found nowhere else, and surely one of very great antiquity. Below this wall, at the ends of the plateau, the ground slopes gradually to the ravines or river-beds, which, as I have already said, enclose the whole site. Below the large side-wall there is a slight slope down to the new temple-terrace, 12 m. lower, a plateau (B on the PLAN) of about the same extent as the upper one. This terrace has no retaining-wall on the south side, toward the plain, but slopes away rather steeply in that direction. Toward the east the

<sup>8</sup> DICTYS CRET., I. 16.

<sup>9</sup> HEROD., *loc. cit.*

<sup>10</sup> I can best refer here to the complicated system of retaining-walls made necessary by the hilly character of the site. All these are shown on the PLAN (W. X. Y. Z.) though we do not fully understand or attempt to explain the meaning and purpose of every wall. Excavation is necessary to determine the original slope of the hill at many points, and we were not able to undertake work of this kind. I should say that the line T T T on the PLAN indicates only approximately the position of a wall east of the old temple-terrace. An intervening knoll prevented us from taking exact observations with the instruments at hand.

descent is almost precipitous, and high retaining-walls were necessary. These walls are but a short distance from the temple, so that the space of the temenos before the east front was very limited. Toward the west, on the other hand, there is a long graduated incline down to a third plateau, considerably the largest of all, bounded on the west by the stream Eleutherium. (Included on the PLAN between CC and J).

Perhaps it is pertinent to add a word on the natural beauty of the site, high up as it is on the mountain side, and on the view that it offers. Almost the entire plain of Argos, the mountains which surround it, and the bay of Nauplia to the south, are included. Historical associations which recall every period of Greek history lend an added charm to the scene. Tiryns and Argos, representing respectively prehistoric and classical times, the mediæval castle which crowns the Larisa or citadel of Argos, the walls and towers of Nauplia, with the reminiscences which they contain of Venetian and Turkish supremacy, of the establishment of the republic under Kapodistrias, and, finally, of the monarchy under Otho—all are distinctly visible.

The first campaign at the Heræum may be said to have begun February 15, 1892. On that day our expedition set out from Athens—Dr. Waldstein, Mr. Fox, the architect and draughtsman of the party, and I, together with a Greek foreman who had had two years of training with us at Eretria, and our cook and man of all work, Nicolaki. Upon our arrival at Argos we called upon the two prominent men of the town, the demarch and the physician, to enlist their support. In company with them we drove over the plain to Chonika, a village thirty-five minutes from the temple, where the demarch assisted us in engaging the best house to be found, the only one of more than a single story. The next day, Sunday, we were joined by two more members of the School, Messrs. Newhall and De Cou. The day was spent quietly in receiving callers and through them allowing the news of our coming and our mission to be spread about the village and the surrounding country. Monday morning rather more than sixty workmen presented themselves. By the time the next week began more than one hundred and ninety men were on our lists.

Work was begun simultaneously on all three plateaus which I have mentioned, and at two more points which seemed to promise well. I shall follow nearly the reverse order in description, though I will say at the beginning that far the greater part of our time and labor was devoted to the new temple. The site was so large and the amount of work to be done so great, that in one campaign we could only make a beginning. Dr. Waldstein's purpose, therefore, was to concentrate our energies at the Polyclitan temple. During the first four weeks, that is, the time when Mr. Newhall and Mr. De Cou were on the ground, we worked at four separate points with as many distinct gangs, each under the charge of a member of the school. Afterward, when Mr. Fox and I were left alone, we restricted ourselves altogether to the new temple. That therefore is now fully cleared. At other points which we explored ruins were discovered, as Dr. Waldstein puts it, without being in all cases fully uncovered.

I speak first of the lowest plateau, the one to the west of the temple. We began here by sinking two trial trenches, one in a direction from east to west, the other diagonally across the plateau. The second of these trenches discovered nothing of importance. The first, however, toward the west side of the plateau, crossed the poros foundations of a substantial wall, measuring from .95 m. to 1.05 m. in breadth.<sup>11</sup> We uncovered this in its whole length, a distance of 69.60 m. in an approximately north and south direction. The wall was in a ruinous state, interrupted at two points for some distance and altogether battered and irregular. We had evidently found only the lowest part of the foundation. At the north end was discovered a small statue-base of white limestone, made up of two members and resting upon a foundation of small stones. The base bore no inscription and no fragment of marble was found in the neighborhood.

This wall proved to be parallel with the north and south retaining-wall of the terrace, the two being 8.10 m. apart. It thus seemed probable that we had uncovered the remains of a long stoa such as frequently bordered a temple-precinct. Accordingly trial pits were sunk on a line midway between the two walls. We

<sup>11</sup>This wall is indicated on the maps of Bursian and Curtius already referred to (*cf. supra*), but no trace of it remained visible at the time when our work began.

found, as we had hoped, a series of bases at approximately regular intervals of about 3 m. These bases were made of the same poros stone, and were as much the worse for time and wear as the wall first laid bare. Thus the interpretation of the remains became certain. Evidently here had been a stoa with a double row of columns and a rear wall like the stoa of Eumenes in Athens (CC on the PLAN). No part of the superstructure was found or any architectural fragment to give a clue to the style of the building; but further excavation may shed light upon this point. The end wall of the stoa to the south, which, like that to the west, was also a retaining-wall, was very well preserved. The stonework here was remarkably fine, formed of well finished quadrangular blocks, some measuring as much as 4 m. in length, and the whole set off by a projecting string-course, still more carefully wrought. There seemed no doubt, therefore, that the structure belonged to a very good period, that is, it may have been built at the same time as the later temple. A great many small objects were discovered during our work here, as everywhere. Close by the long wall was a long spear-head, very much corroded but easily recognizable; also various fragments of bronze, among them a long rod which was perhaps a spit, and a very interesting little horse, having the same thin body and long legs as those on the so-called Dipylon vases; several valuable fragments of pottery—one, a part of a large vase, representing in relief two lions with the same features as on Corinthian ware and in the same affronted position, another very similar, except that it was in color brown on a yellow ground, and not in relief; further, a small terracotta head, several bronze mirrors, and one piece of black-figured pottery. In general I may say here that we found very little of the black-figured ware. At one point east of the temple several pieces came to light, but elsewhere little; and no single fragment of red-figured pottery was found. It was this of course that made everything we discovered so valuable—the fact that all belonged to so early a time.

At the upper, *i. e.*, eastern, side of this plateau was what seemed like a cistern of cross shape (J on the PLAN) nearly filled with accumulated earth. In clearing this out we found only unimportant objects, several fragments of pebble mosaic, for example, and a piece of cornice in poros with several guttæ. The cistern itself

was a deep subterranean basin cut in the solid rock and open only at the cross. It extends into the hillside, so has really but three arms, the two that are opposite each other being considerably shorter than the third, which is 4.50 m. in length, while one of the others is 2.60 m. and the second 3.20 m. long. All measure 1.10 m. to 1.30 m. in width, and are high enough to admit of easy passage, the pavement sloping from each extremity to the cross where it drops abruptly to a deeper basin. The roof is arched, and sides and roof are coated with cement.

Another curious discovery was made close by, to the south (K on the PLAN). We had thought that here, along the same hillside, might be another similar cistern. Instead we came upon something which may be described as the half of a huge shallow bowl, assuming that it is a vertical plane which divides the bowl into halves. This was hollowed out of a single stone, and at the lower side was a stone gutter to carry off water. An iron strigil was found in the immediate neighborhood. We felt safe, therefore, in interpreting the discovery as a bath or cleaning-place of some kind.

Toward the northern side of this same plateau were the ruins of a small Byzantine church, 10.50 m. by 3.20 m. (L on the PLAN). Excavation here revealed very little. The walls were badly made of small irregular stones. A few pieces of squared marble were found. It seemed likely that old materials had been used in building the church, but the site was not that of a Greek structure.

One of the most interesting parts of our work was at a point outside the temple-precinct, on the further side of the Eleutherium, and some distance below the stoa mentioned. Here we noticed a shaft .97 m. by .63 m. sunk in the solid rock, but filled with earth to within a short distance of the top. One of the party suggested that this resembled very much the entrance to an Egyptian tomb-chamber. We dug with some difficulty to a depth of 4.40 m., finding on either side of the shaft shallow holes cut in the rock to make a means of ascent and descent. Reaching the bottom we found three avenues all cut in the solid rock, leading, one toward the plain and town of Argos, the second back toward the temple, the third at right angles to the direction of the



other two, or about southeast. The second and third soon led out of the rock back to the Eleutherium, a little below the present level of its bed. We did not follow the third in its further course: the second, however, not only crossed the stream but entered the rock on the eastern side, the side toward the temple. Through a distance, therefore, of 13.70 m. walls and roof of hewn stone were necessary. How much further the passage continues as a rock-cut tunnel we could not tell. The first mentioned avenue we followed for a distance of 34.25 m., all the way through native rock. It was a fascinating piece of work to the men engaged in it, as well as to ourselves. They were utterly mystified, fancying that they were on the way toward finding some hidden treasure. They would ask us repeatedly *τί πρᾶγμα εἶναι ἐδῶ*; and we were by no means sure what to tell them. Of course the passage was so dark that they were compelled to use artificial light, and they were overjoyed to find niches in the side walls at short intervals, which doubtless those who made the tunnel had hewn for just that purpose.<sup>12</sup> In this way we were able to work with both day- and night-gangs, and to push forward very much further in the time we had at our disposal. To clear the passage through its entire length may be a long task, for of course we can only conjecture how far it extends, and the work must be carried on under continually increasing disadvantages. It was probably connected with a system of irrigation for the plain—*πολυδύψιον Ἄργος*. Argos is still *πολυδύψιον*; and the most notable, for Greece unusual, feature of the plain is the great number of windmills scattered all over it, used for pumping water into irrigating-canals. It seems doubtful whether or not this aqueduct was fed by the Eleutherium. As has been stated, it was found to cross its bed, but perhaps the stream's course may have suffered some change. The third arm was, in that case, probably designed to carry off the overflow. On the other hand, the passage may have been connected with a series of cisterns situated across the Eleutherium and a little further up. There were five of these, hewn out of a considerable cliff. We cleared one of the number, but found nothing whatever. In the aqueduct itself nothing was found.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the Samian tunnel of Polycrates, *Mitth. Athen*, 1x, s. 177.

I come next to the uppermost terrace, on which, as Pausanias says distinctly, the old temple stood. His words are: <sup>13</sup> Ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τοῦ προτέρου ναοῦ θεμέλιά τε καὶ εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο ὑπελίπετο ἢ φλόξ. We first dug a broad trench running from the eastern end of the terrace in a direction due west. We did not go very far or very deep before discoveries began. On the first day squared fragments of poros stone appeared, and on the second, at a distance of 8 m. inside the east terrace-wall and .60 m. below the surface, we came upon a hard layer of black earth, assuring us that we were on the site of the burned temple. Not only that, but various pieces of charred wood were found, and flat bricks showing plainly the action of fire. Digging further on we found that this layer of black earth continued. It made, in fact, what we came to call a "platform," with a nearly uniform width of rather less than 4 m. and a length of 33 m., *i. e.*, reaching nearly to the western end of the terrace. This peculiar layer was from one to two inches in thickness, and itself rested upon a layer of dark red soil. Virgin soil on either side of the platform lay only about a foot below its level. At various points fragments of metal and pottery were found; the metal, iron or bronze, always too much melted and corroded to be valuable, the pottery for the most part entirely plain, though some of it showed very archaic Mycenaean patterns. One find was of two very large pots, one within the other. A second, near the western end of the terrace, revealed a perfect pocket from which we gathered three basketfuls of fragments, in the main pieces of thick, heavy, unpainted pottery, also some fragments of a lighter ware, and bits of iron melted by fire, plates and rods of bronze, glass beads, smaller beads of bone, and, last of all, a very curious bronze goat. The whole was probably a mass of debris which had fallen at the time of the burning of the temple, or had been thrown aside as rubbish. Beyond the west end of the platform and a foot below its level was a pavement of irregular polygonal slabs, such a pavement as might naturally have surrounded a temple.

We next started a cross-trench, running from the south retaining-wall of the terrace back to the hill at its rear. To the north

<sup>13</sup> PAUS., II. 17, 7.

of the main trench virgin soil was reached at a very slight depth, and no discovery was made; to the south we crossed a second "platform" of black earth measuring almost exactly the same in width as the first, and running parallel with it at a distance of seven metres. Virgin soil was found between the two at the same slight depth as before. Lastly, on the south side of this platform and extending to the terrace-wall, a distance of 9.30 m. was a polygonal pavement of the same type as was found at the west end. Here the work rested. The excavations are yet too incomplete to show all that is desired, but they have, at least, made out very nearly the precise location of the old temple; that is, we can explain these "platforms" of black earth in no other way than by supposing that they mark the lines of the temple's side walls. Possibly the red layer beneath is what is left of the brick walls of the structure. Dr. Dörpfeld explains in this way a large deposit of the same sort found along the walls of the Heræum at Olympia. That temple, as the oldest known, makes the best standard of comparison with ours at Argos, both belonging to a time when walls were built of sun-dried brick, while columns and superstructure were of wood.

Interesting remains were discovered on the slope west of the old temple. A trial trench here revealed at a slight depth a smooth level pavement of concrete (M on the PLAN). This pavement proved to cover a rectangular area 13.20 m. by 4.43 m., the direction of its length being approximately north and south, that is, along the slope. A slight ridge borders the lower long side. On the opposite side and at both ends the area is enclosed by walls of the same concrete as the pavement. The end walls slope with the incline of the hill, which seems to show that they were only retaining-walls and never rose high enough to carry a roof. Toward its southern end the pavement was pierced by a round hole .20 m. in diameter, while close to the wall at the opposite end two large flat bricks were found lying together on the pavement. The whole structure, if it may be called by that name, perhaps served as a reservoir or lavatory. It may be added that during the work here we found several flat bricks which bore on one face the impress of a thumb and four fingers. The brick had evidently been carried while still soft on the upturned hand of a workman.

I come at length to the new temple and its immediate surroundings. Its location was known to us approximately, and we were fortunate in finding upon the very first day the broad courses of the outer foundation. Work was begun at the eastern end, and at the same time a broad trench was carried up the southern slope toward the temple. I need not describe in detail the progress of this part of the work, which, as I have noted, was by far the largest and most important part. We followed the foundation-walls along and uncovered them completely, working with separate gangs from both ends of the temple. The earth, fortunately, was easily disposed of. It had only to be carried to the slopes of the two ravines which bound the site and to be thrown over. All around the stereobate except on the north side, where bed-rock lay close to the surface, we dug down to a uniform depth of four courses, that is we cut down the entire top of the plateau to this level, so leaving the temple substructure free and clear. Inside the temple we dug everywhere to bed-rock, bringing to view whatever remained of interior foundations. In spite, therefore, of the fact that no part of the superstructure is preserved—even the stylobate and steps being gone—the visitor gains a very good idea at a glance of the general plan and outline of the temple. What remains is only the broad outer foundation on which steps and columns rested, and the foundations for the cella-walls and for the interior columns. The material used throughout is a coarse-grained poros stone, in blocks whose dimensions are uniformly 1.20 m.  $\times$  .60 m.  $\times$  .35 m. The stylobate was doubtless poros of a fair sort, as are the column-drums and architectural fragments found. But no single stone came to light which could with certainty be ascribed to the stylobate, although fragments of various kinds were strewn confusedly over the whole area of the temple. We looked in vain for the familiar square dowel-hole which should mark those blocks on which columns had once stood.

The outer foundation, which is preserved through the entire circuit and marks the dimensions of the temple over all, so to speak, measures 39.60 m. in length on the sides and 19.94 m. at the ends. It is from 3.50 m. to 3.60 m. in breadth, and is built most carefully with regular alternation of headers and stretchers.

This substantial foundation, furthermore, goes down to a very considerable depth. At the northern side, where bed-rock lies just below the surface, it consists of but one or two courses. At the western end, however, where the underlying rock slopes with the incline of the hill, it increases from two to eight courses, while at the eastern end we sunk a shaft deep enough to show ten courses (3.50 m.), without yet reaching the lowest.

Contiguous to the eastern end of the foundation, just at the middle, was a platform almost exactly 4 m. square, perhaps making part of an approach to the temple, like that to the temple of Æsculapius at Epidaurus. A single square stone found close by, with parallel cuttings on its face as though for a ramp, tended to support the latter theory.

To consider now the plan of the temple<sup>14</sup>: the stereobate measures, as already stated, 39.60 m. by 19.94 m. Further, from a capital which was unearthened, we found the diameter of the columns at the neck to be 1.02 m. It is quite evident from the width of the outer foundation (3.60), that this supported not only steps but a range of columns, that is, the temple was peripteral; and second, a peripteros, of so small dimensions was surely hexastyle. Probably, then, there were twelve columns on the flanks. Assuming the most usual ratio of upper to lower diameter, these columns would have measured on the stylobate 1.31 m. Assuming further that the line of the first step is .20 m. inside the outer edge of the stereobate, and that the steps were each .50 m. in breadth, the stylobate would measure 37.20 m. by 17.54 m. With intercolumniations, then, proportional to the column-diameters, there would be exactly room for twelve columns on the long side.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Orientation of the temple: the angle between the axis and the true east is  $15^{\circ} 59' 20''$ .

<sup>15</sup> Of course much is assumed in such a calculation as I have made; but, it seems to me, reasonably. Even, however, if we assume the smallest possible dimensions for the stylobate and so the greatest possible ratio of length to width, there could still be no more than twelve columns on the long side. The proof of my point, therefore, does not depend upon the precise accuracy of the figures employed. On the other hand, the fact that by employing figures which most naturally suggest themselves, so exact a result is secured (the discrepancy is only a few centimetres), serves to strengthen the demonstration. Of course it is well known that the ratio of length to width in Greek temples decreased from earlier to later times. Thus in the Heræum it is less than in the Parthenon or "Theseum."

The interior arrangement of the structure seems to have been the one common to peripteral temples, that is with cella, pronaos, and posticum. But the incomplete remains which we found of foundation-walls do not make the entire plan clear. As the map shows, we could definitely locate only the side walls enclosing the cella-structure, the end wall<sup>16</sup> to the east, and the wall dividing pronaos from cella. Therefore we could determine nothing with absolute certainty except the dimensions of the pronaos. These are: width 6.79 m., depth 4.6 m. The width of the colonnade before the pronaos was from three to four metres; on the long sides it is 1.20 m. less. The cella is of course the same in width from wall to wall as the pronaos, but in effect was made much narrower by two ranges of interior columns. These ran in the direction of the cella's length, thus dividing it into a nave 3.75 m. wide and two very narrow aisles. The length of the cella is uncertain. No sure trace was discovered of its rear wall, *i. e.*, the wall separating it from the posticum, or of the western end wall of the cella-structure. A few indications are to be found, however. First, the western end of the north side wall seems definitely fixed. For a considerable distance where no single stone is left the course of this wall is marked by the cutting made in the bed-rock to receive it. This cutting stops at a point 5.10 m. distant from the outer foundation on the west. There are no further traces to prove surely that here was a cross-wall, but such must have been the case if, as seems certain, the side wall did end at this point. The cross wall whose position is thus determined was evidently the western end wall of the cella-structure. It was separated from the columns of the western front by a space 2.20 m. wider than that at the east, a difference which is strange but not impossible. Further, as to the rear wall of the cella proper, its location seems to be fixed with probability by the arrangement of interior columns in the cella itself. We found bases for four of these on the north side, and five or possibly six on the south side. The third pair, reckoning from the east, lie exactly in the centre-line of the temple; and further, the

<sup>16</sup> As already stated, we discovered only the foundations on which walls and columns rested. In this paragraph, therefore, I use the word "wall" to mean a line of foundation, which might support either a solid wall, as on the sides of the inner temple, or columns and anta', as at the ends.

last one in the southern line is not only .30 m. too near its neighbor, but is different from the rest in construction. It seems probable, therefore, that there were only five on each side, and that the cella consequently is symmetrical with respect to the centre-line mentioned. Its length, then, is twice the distance from the eastern end to the centre, that is, 11.60 m. What I have called the sixth base was probably a part of the wall dividing cella from posticum. It corresponds exactly in breadth and is very nearly symmetrical in position with the wall between pronaos and cella. Ample room is left within the limits so defined for a posticum, though it would be, as is often the case, shallower than the pronaos.

The cella structure thus probably had the form of a double temple *in antis*. This type is far more common than the amphiprostyle type; besides the latter would not require a continuous foundation for an end-wall, such as we found to exist, but would more probably be provided for by single detached piers.

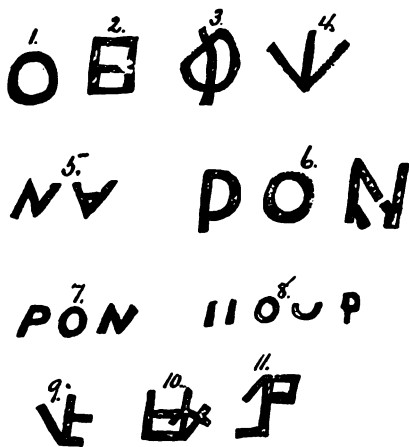
It will be seen from the various dimensions which have been given that the temple was by no means a large one, smaller in fact than one might expect so famous a foundation as the Heræum of Argos to be. It is, nevertheless, large in comparison with most temples of Greece proper, if the chief buildings at Athens and Olympia are excepted. For example, it is more than five metres longer on the stylobate than the "Theseum."

It is impossible to do more in the way of reconstruction with what we found than to determine the ground-plan. I have already alluded to the discovery of one capital of a column. This is of the Doric order, with twenty channels. The curve of the echinus is extremely graceful, the vertical and horizontal dimensions of section being respectively .169 m. and .124 m. Besides this capital only two column-drums were found.

Enough has been said to show what the history of the temple must have been in the Middle Ages. A more thorough and systematic plundering than it suffered could not be imagined. Not only was everything above ground taken, but the very foundations were carried away. It may well be that we did not find the uppermost course of the stereobate at all; indeed the stereobate as we did find it was two courses lower at the western than at the

eastern end. The cella-walls were left far below the level of the outer substructure; and one of the interior column-bases had been taken *in toto*. To show the completeness of the work of devastation it may be noted that the capital before mentioned was found resting upon the cella-wall below the stereobate. So at all depths inside the temple were found remains which far antedated the structure itself. This unfortunate destruction is due to the fact that in all ages the plain of Argos has been well populated. We feel confident that the walls of Nauplia contain very much that we did not find at the Heræum. In a church at Merbaka, a village half way to Nauplia, we recognized stones from the Heræum; and at Aniphi, also on the road to Nauplia, a column-drum from the temple which had been cut through so as to make a hollow cylinder served as a curb for the village-well.

The rough stones of the stereobate bear a series of masons' marks, which are here reproduced in facsimile. Most of them were on the inner face of the broad foundation which supported



columns and steps, only two on the bases of interior columns. They were not chiselled on the stone, but painted in red. The color was at first very bright, but faded gradually with continued exposure to the air. The letters, which were for the most part roughly traced, varied in height between .11 and .27 m., in breadth between .13 and .35 m.



The natural presumption that these markings belong to the time of the erection of the temple is confirmed by a consideration of the letters themselves. The basis for Kirchhoff's<sup>17</sup> division of Argive inscriptions into three periods is found in the varying forms of sigma, a letter which unfortunately is not included in our number. But the concurrence of the forms A and O for alpha and omicron is enough to show that these characters belong to Kirchhoff's third period ("um und nach" 457 B. C.); further, the upright form for nu (which Kirchhoff does not recognize as Argive<sup>18</sup>) points to a time when the Ionic alphabet was at least known to the Argives; that is, toward or about the end of the Peloponnesian war. (See also on 4 below.) This is exactly the time to which, on other grounds, the building of the temple may be assigned.

The following details seem worthy of note (see drawing):

1. There are two appearances of this form. In the third period it is used as *o* in *I. G. A.* 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40; as *ω* in 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, as *θ* 35, 40 (both doubted by Kirchhoff), 43\*, 44, 45. The last three are later inscriptions. It is probable that the letter represented here is *θ*, though it may be *ω*, or less probably, on account of the appearance of the later form, *o*.

2. This, the Argive form for the rough breathing, is five times repeated in forms that vary but slightly.

3. The irregular shape seems due only to carelessness and the roughness of the stone.

4. The *Υ* of the Eastern alphabet. The forms *X +* for *X* and *-H, F* for *ξ* in Argive inscriptions, made the existence of the form *√* (for *Υ*) in the highest degree probable, but it is here discovered for the first time. This form and that of 2 must belong to a period before the Ionic alphabet had become established in Argolis.

5. The letters are of course inverted. Both are regular forms for the period.

7. The sloping *P* is no doubt due to carelessness. It is not a recognized form of the letter.

I can find no forms with which to compare 9, 10, and 11, and shall not attempt conjectural explanations.

<sup>17</sup> *Griech. Alphabet*, p. 97.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.*, *Taf.* I.

It would be a long task to enumerate all the objects, large and small, that were unearthed in the temple or near it. First, of course, the now celebrated head of Hera.<sup>19</sup> This was found on the morning of Feb. 21, lying about a foot and a half below ground, at a point just west of the outer foundation (Q on the PLAN). Two smaller heads, quite similar in technic, were found not far away. Subsequently, a youthful male torso was discovered at the greatest depth we reached inside the temple (R on the PLAN),—this fact again showing how complete the work of plunder and destruction had been. This torso is almost in the round, but is joined at the back to a relief-surface, that is almost surely to a metope. The marble is wonderfully well preserved; it had lain in a bed of sand and had kept its original polish, like the Hermes of Praxiteles. The workmanship seemed to Professor Brunn, from the photographs which I showed him, finer even than that of the Hera head. This discovery was made during the last days of our work, and, as may be imagined from its strange site, was altogether unexpected. Earlier than this we had found another torso of about the same size, but female, presumably of an Amazon. Besides these larger objects, a great quantity of sculptured fragments was discovered, arms and legs, drapery, and so on, together with pieces of what had probably been the sculptured cyma of the cornice, bearing a series of palmettes, between every two of which were varied scrolls. On these scrolls was perched, in every intervening space, a bird, perhaps a cuckoo as symbol of the goddess. Lastly, a great number of smaller objects of all descriptions came to light, some at a slight depth, others far below and inside the temple-foundations. These include fragments of archaic pottery, terracotta heads, figures, and masks, pins and clasps of bronze, a bronze cock, several scarabs, one of them threaded, so to speak, on a bronze pin, pieces of gold leaf, a spiral ornament of gold, stone, bone, and ivory seals, beads of various kinds, and so on.

On the slope between the old and new temples, we uncovered a stoa-like structure of white limestone (C on the PLAN). Its direction is parallel to that of the temple and it is rather more than twice as long, so far as appears from the present excavations. Its

<sup>19</sup> I mention here the sculptured works discovered only for the sake of completeness. They will be fully discussed by Dr. Waldstein.

course varies considerably from a straight line at many points and it bears all the marks of belonging to a late period of building. Only the steps are preserved for a considerable portion of its length, and we could not prove the existence of a stylobate on which columns had stood. We did find fragments of columns, which might have belonged to the stoa, and a well preserved angle-triglyph of corresponding dimensions; also, what may have been a piece of the cornice, with finely worked ornament of mæander-pattern in relief. At a point nearly opposite the eastern end of the temple, the front line of the stoa projects very considerably toward the south, thus forming a main central portion with probably two receding wings; though toward the east we could not follow the excavation far enough to establish this detail. The main portion was cleared back to the rear wall, which makes a retaining-wall against the slope above, and is built of unhewn stones, rather carelessly laid. The whole space was completely filled with bases of statues and steles of all forms and dimensions. Some must have borne figures or groups of considerable size; all were packed together with no attempt at order or arrangement. Still more stood before the stoa, in the area between the central hall and the wings. We were surprised to find nothing more than the bases themselves, no trace of a statue and no single fragment of an inscription. The marble had of course been burned for lime during the Middle Ages. We did find *in situ*, on a stone projecting before the step next to the uppermost, a relief representing two doves facing each other. It was not work of the best period, and, as has been said, the stoa seemed on all accounts late. Moreover, one of these cross-walls dividing this middle space passed directly over a statue-base, this fact pointing to a still later reconstruction. At the west end of the stone was a curved line of foundation, the special meaning of which we could not determine.

Several minor discoveries may be briefly reviewed. An irregularly shaped pavement, made up of large square stones and resting upon a rough foundation of rubble and earth, is situated near the northeastern corner of the temple-stereobate, and is nearly of the same level. It may be explained conjecturally in a variety of ways.

An interesting trial-shaft was sunk in the hillside, about one hundred feet east of the temple (N on the PLAN). We dug down here exactly eight metres, finding at this depth a squared stone. This only shows more forcibly what was proved by our work elsewhere, that is, that further discoveries may be expected on all the slopes about the temple, where not improbably sculptured fragments which have fallen down from above may lie buried.

On the south slope we discovered a broad flight of steps (I on the PLAN), leading up to the temple, doubtless making part of a kind of propylæa. We did not reach the end of them in either direction, though we uncovered them through a length of 17 m. There must have been, therefore, an imposing approach from this direction. The steps measure .27 m. and .45 m. in rise and tread respectively; they are of limestone and in a fairly good state of preservation.

A trial trench further to the west along the southern slope crossed, at a depth of about 1 m., a well built wall 1.75 m. wide (N on the PLAN). Lack of time prevented us from following up this suggestive discovery. We did prove by means of a second trench 6 m. to the eastward, that the wall did not extend so far in that direction.

It only remains to describe the work west of the temple, which was attended with results of especial importance. We had begun here with a deep cutting on the slope some distance below the temple, which was finally carried quite up to the foundation-walls, all the way keeping down to bed-rock, which lay sometimes 5 m. or more below the level of the original surface. Another cutting, further down the hill (H on the PLAN), brought to light remains which cannot yet be fully interpreted. We discovered the foundations of a rear wall, two cross-walls and a possible front line of columns. The rear wall, which, it should be noted, lies 9 m. below the temple-stereobate, is 1.10 m. broad and well built of quadrangular blocks. Its length is uncertain, for it extends to the north beyond the limits of our cutting. A retaining-wall, which rises to a height of nearly 5 m., is situated 2.70 m. back (east) of the wall just mentioned. One of the cross-walls belongs to a good period of building; the second suggested Byzantine construction. On the front wall one column was preserved,

standing simply on a small square base. Three other bases of the same kind were found at approximately equal distances, though the whole line is covered now by an apparently later wall, broken by two doors of unequal widths. The single room which these three walls enclose is 5.25 m. in width by 4.20 m. in depth. A stele-base 2.55 m. long continues the line of the first mentioned cross-wall toward the west.

The next higher cutting, that just below the temple (P on the PLAN), yielded no architectural remains, but from here came by far the larger part of our immense collection of terracotta figurines and smaller objects. At a depth of eight to ten feet we came upon a layer of black earth, the *μαύρο χῶμα*, as it came to be called by ourselves as well as by the men, a layer of varying thickness, sloping with the slope of the rock below. Here, in successive pockets, we kept finding through three weeks great quantities of female heads and figures in terracotta. These were of all possible descriptions and sizes, many of the archaic bird-faced order, some retaining traces of color, and all exhibiting the most varied styles of dress and adornment. They had been without doubt votive offerings to the goddess. The whole collection is perhaps the most interesting and valuable of the kind in existence, except, it may be, that at Syracuse, where we found almost every one of our patterns duplicated. Besides these terracottas, masses of pottery fragments were found, all archaic, quantities of iron and bone rings, relief-plaques of terracotta and ivory, showing the earliest technic, seals, scarabs, beads, small sculptured figures of animals in stone, mirrors, pins, clasps, and so on. Mingled with the mass were found also teeth and bones of animals. This fact served to prove what had already seemed evident, viz., that we had come upon the refuse which had gathered about old altars, not altars which had stood here, for the slope seemed to have been filled in after the foundations for the new temple had been finished with whatever chanced to be at hand. This was proven by its whole stratification, as well as by the especial fact that we found broken fragments of worked stone in great quantities making a foundation for the upper strata. These stones had evidently been employed in older structures, and were, strange to say, of a kind found nowhere else on the site. It seemed, therefore, that we

could confidently ascribe all objects which our mine yielded to a time considerably earlier than the building of the new temple, since at that time those once consecrated offerings were serviceable only as so much rubbish to be used for filling.

Two more points in conclusion. We found in the mass of stone described what seemed like bisected drums of columns which were possibly from the older temple. They showed on one face a peculiarly worked pair of holes, designed to hold the rope by which the stone was to be lifted and put into position. It was a device which we had never seen before, though we noted it later at Girgenti. Mr. Penrose told us that it was found only in the oldest temples of Sicily.

In the same stone-heap we found something which we liked to interpret as a primitive image symbolic of divinity, or *Spéras*. It is an octagonal shaft, having a very slightly projecting base, narrowing toward the top and broken off at a height of about two and a half feet. Several facts suggested its interpretation as a *Spéras*. First, the difficulty of explaining in any other way so strange an object; second, the place where it was found, amid fragments from the older temple and the most primitive works of art; further, the fact that it was made of a very soft stone which could easily be cut with a knife, and that the working is so directly in imitation of the technic of wood-carving; lastly, the analogy with one of the earliest products of Greek plastic art, the Artemis of Delos. That figure represents only a reasonable and logical step in advance of this possible *Spéras*. The interpretation given seems to me, therefore, more than probable. If it is correct, we have the earliest known representation of a Greek deity as one of the most interesting results of a profitable season of excavation.

CARLETON L. BROWNSON.

## SOME SCULPTURES FROM THE ARGIVE HERÆUM.

[PLATES XVII, XVIII, XIX.]

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These Plates are from photographs taken from the casts by Dr. C. H. Young, and the account of them is made up of extracts from "*Excavations at the Heraion of Argos, 1892*, by CHARLES WALDSTEIN: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Bulletin III. Boston, New York, and Chicago, Ginn & Co. London and Edinburgh, Williams & Norgate, 1892;" pp. 1-20, Plates I-VIII.

The circumstances of the discovery of the important sculptures on the site of the Heræum in the spring of 1892 have been noticed in the preceding paper.

1. HEAD OF HERA (PL. XVII). "Parian marble. The head was evidently placed between the shoulders, at right angles to the chest. There is no trace in the neck of a turn to the right or left, nor of a droop downwards or a tilting upwards. This absolute straightness of position of the head, and hence of the look of the eyes, gives to a statue a solemnity, simplicity and severity which in the archaic statues, with the imperfect and conventional modelling of the details, contributes to the impression of hardness and lifelessness characterizing these early works. In our work it could only give simplicity, dignity and solemnity. In the composition of the head itself there is a symmetry maintained in either half, a perfect balancing of either side. This severe dichotomy is accentuated in the peculiar treatment of the two curls above the central parting, a peculiarity to which I shall have to return. From this point downwards the two sides of the face are evenly balanced, without suggesting a purely mechanical reproduction, as in some of the archaic works.

“In contradistinction to archaistic work the severity and regularity of treatment [in the hair] is not hard; but the regularity lends to the variety of wavy lines a repose which gives to this style of treatment something of the grandiose as opposed to the petty. The more this hair is looked at from a distance, the more life and beauty of texture does it suggest, while retaining a harmony and regularity of general design, and adding restfulness to the suggestion of flow and ripple in the movement of lines. I hardly know of any instance of Greek art that can be compared with it, excepting the best types of Greek fifth century work, as in what remains of the Parthenon and the hair in the Caryatides of the Erechtheum—though these, more decorative works of sculpture, are less highly finished.

“In the same way the regularity which makes for hardness is counteracted in the detail modelling of the face. In the profile view the absolutely straight and continuous line from forehead to nose is varied in that the nose projects at a slightly obtuse angle and thus throws the lower part of the face forward. But an element of softness is chiefly added in the delicate modelling (always, however, remaining simple and broad in character) of the cheeks, chin, mouth and eyes. The modelling of the cheek, especially in the region about the mouth, nostrils and eye, is of a delicacy which, while adding to the general softness of the face, is not noticeable in itself, unless examined very closely and minutely, and does not detract from the general breadth of character in the treatment of the head as a whole. The chin holds a happy mean between the heavy and the weakly pointed; while the curve from the lower lip downwards to the point of the chin is one of peculiar delicacy. The mouth, with a full lower lip, is a very characteristic feature of the head. The lips are clearly arched and still have nothing of the hardness of arching which the lips of the works immediately preceding the great period have, still less are they set in the so-called ‘archaic smile.’ The hardness is chiefly in that the lips are not compressed, so as to close the mouth firmly, but are slightly parted—a fact which no doubt adds to the milder expression of the whole countenance. The sculptor has thus solved a difficult problem. . . . The whole treatment of the eye retains a severity which is free from lifelessness and give a vividness which



is not tied to a purely individual expression or mood. Mouth and eye together remind us of the advance in art attributed by the ancients to the painter Polygnotos. . . .

“In all its characteristics this head thus manifests that it is neither archaic, nor transitional, nor of the fourth century B. C., nor archaistic or belonging to later renaissance of earlier Greek type, but it is clearly the work of an artist living in the fifth century B. C.

“The next question is the particular divinity represented. I have until now called it Hera. But of course we must be aware that this attribution is not beyond all doubt. It might be maintained that the head is that of Athene or even of Aphrodite. But I do not think this likely. It first appears to me to be a head of Hera because of the diadem or stephanos which is the characteristic badge of Hera. It is true that this is not the broad, ornamented diadem which Hera has on the coins of Argos. She is not represented as a matron. But we must remember that Hera in the Judgment of Paris vied with Aphrodite and Athene, and that, especially at Argos in the festival of the *ἱερός γάμος* she is conceived of as the bride of Zeus, the marriage festival with whom is the central point in the festival. The place in which the head was found, would, furthermore, be an *a priori* reason for our attribution. While, finally, the severity of conception to which reference has already been made modifies the youthfulness in the direction not favorable to its interpretation as Aphrodite or even Athene. This view is still more confirmed when we compare the head with the best known types of Hera. . . .

“If now we turn to the question to what artist and school this head belongs, the name of Polykleitos and the Polykleitan school at once necessarily suggest themselves. The date of the work and its provenience would, without any other indications, make us attribute it to the Argive school under the immediate influence of Polykleitos. For it is, to say the least, very improbable that in the fifth century such a statue of Hera would be made for the Heraion without coming under the direct influence of Polykleitos who established the ideal of this goddess in this very temple by what was one of the most famous works of art in antiquity. The severity and prevalence of symmetry in the head, of which I have

spoken, are characteristics which mark Polykleitan character; while the comparative youthfulness and dignity, kept from overpowering grandeur by a certain grace, could not be expressed better than in the terms with which Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* xii. lo. 7) criticises the art of Polykleitos. . . .

“As to the question of how the statue stood, I was at first inclined to believe that it must have stood alone on its base, probably immediately at the west end of the temple. The beautiful delicate finish of the surface made me doubt of its being a pedimental figure. But since the metope was found (Pl. XVIII) in which the surface is so well preserved, the careful finish and elaboration of the surface in this piece of architectural sculpture makes me consider it possible that this Hera stood in the pediment under which it was found, and represented the goddess standing immediately beside the central figure or figures in the scene of the departure of Agamemnon and the Homeric heroes for Troy. The dimensions would suit the pediments of a temple with the measurements of the Heraion. . . .

2. METOPE FROM THE SECOND TEMPLE (Pl. XVIII). “Fine-grained marble. . . . This fragment of a metope, of which the surface is in excellent preservation, represents the torso of a nude warrior advancing to the left in violent charging attitude; the right arm, which is upraised, no doubt held some weapon with which he was striking an opponent who lay at his feet, and whose hand is still to be seen pressing against the right side of his victorious enemy. The work is in high relief, the head and legs are now missing, having been completely undercut. The flat background of the relief is visible in our plate above his left shoulder. The action of this warrior is one which occurs frequently on metopes and friezes representing the famous mythical battle scenes. . . . The vigorous action is expressed as fully in this work as in any of the instances quoted. But I know of no metopes in which the detail work in the modelling of the surface is so careful and accurate. Not only in the wonderful articulation of the whole torso and in the delicate modelling of the muscles covering the ribs, in which we have the ‘dryness’ reminding us of the school of Ægina without any of the archaic ‘hardness;’ but in such details as the indication of the gland (?) in the inguinal region, and the

careful modelling of the hand, in which the thumb, the nails and the small wrinkles, are reproduced in an almost minute manner—in all this we have an instance of a new school of art. It seems to show a continuation of Peloponnesian traditions, of the *duriora et Tuscanicis proxima* rendering of the human figure in transitional works; while, at the same time, there is a knowledge and power of accurate expression in the treatment of details, which together form a striking combination. . . .

3. HEAD OF AMAZON (?) (PL. XIX, Fig. 1). “This head at first sight appears so expressive of sentiment that we should hesitate to connect it with the other works which we assign to the Polykleitan school of the fifth century. But upon closer examination we see that the sentiment which it manifests is due rather to the attitude than to the signs of emotion in the head itself. There is no doubt that it formed part of a high relief on the (our) right side, which is not fully visible in the plate, being near to the background; the hair is not elaborated, the ear not indicated. From its dimensions, too, there can be no doubt that it formed part of a metope. The head drooped to the shoulder and no doubt belonged to a wounded warrior. The helmet is of a curious Phrygian shape. It might possibly belong to a Trojan warrior, a type which often approaches the effeminate, but the head corresponds most to the types of Amazons which abound in Greek art. If the head be that of an Amazon and if it belongs to the metopes of the temple, the Amazonomachia (and probably the Centaureomachia) were represented on the north and south sides. . . .

4. HEAD WITH HELMET PL. XIX, Fig. 2). “The eyes seem to show traces of the ancient application of color. The dimensions are slightly larger than those of the previous head. So, too, the proportions of the face. The face is rounder and fuller. I do not venture to ascribe it to the metopes; though it certainly formed part of a work in high relief. . . .

5. FRAGMENT OF SIMA (PL. XIX, Fig. 3). . . . “The . . . distinction between the works of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. is noticed when we compare the *Sima* from Argos with that of the *Iholos* of Epidauros. The ornament upon the Argos *Sima* consists of two volutes joining, out of the junctions of which rises an anthemion in modified lotos pattern. The volutes end on either

side in the honey-suckle pattern, below which one smaller curved line sweeps inwards and ends in a smaller volute beside the anthemion. Each smaller volute is surmounted by a bird. One would be glad to see in these birds the cuckoo closely associated with the worship of the Argive Hera; but this I do not venture to decide. Compared with this, the Epidaurian sima is redundant and almost *barocco*."

A HEAD OF POLYCLETAN STYLE FROM THE  
METOPES OF THE ARGIVE HERAEUM.\*

[PLATE XX.]

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The marble head which is here reproduced on PLATE XX is one of the many interesting finds of this season's (1894) excavations by the American School of Athens at the Argive Heraeum. The members of the School who joined me in the work were Dr. Washington, Mr. Richard Norton, Mr. Hoppin, and Mr. Alden.

It would, of course, be impossible to give at the present moment an adequate account of these discoveries. For this we shall have to wait until the conclusion of the excavations, when the mere work of arranging the numerous objects and fragments will occupy a considerable period with arduous labor. But the important bearings of this head upon the other sculptures we have unearthed at the Heraeum, as well as upon the history of Greek art in its highest period, make it incumbent upon me to publish it at this early date, and to accompany the publication with some explanatory remarks, giving the main bearings of the discovery. These remarks are therefore of a purely preliminary character.

The head was found to the east of what on last year's plan we called the East Chambers, to the northeast of the second temple, and below the slope of the first or early temple. On a line with this point there appeared for a short distance (about eight feet) a continuation of the Cyclopean wall supporting the platform of the

\* As a former pupil of Professor Henry Drisler, I deeply regret that I was not notified of the proposal to do him honor by dedicating to him a volume of essays written by his former pupils, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of his university work at Columbia College. I hope that, in accepting the dedication of this slight archæological essay, he will realize the lasting respect and gratitude which I feel for him.

C. W.

early temple. We had here to cut off the slope of the early temple to a depth of about twenty feet. The objects here found were chiefly of the Mycenæan and Dipylon period. But at the point where this marble head was found, nearer to the northeast corner of the second temple, there appears to have been an accumulation of *débris* massed together in either the Roman or the Byzantine period. A marble head of Roman workmanship was found in immediate proximity to this head. Mr. Hoppin was in charge of the work at the time of the discovery.

The head is of Parian marble, about one-half life-size, and represents a Greek youth or *ephebos*. It evidently came from an alto-rilievo, as the right side and ear are finished in work, while the left side and ear are not finished. The dimensions are: length of face from tip of chin to hair, 0.11 m.; breadth at ears, 0.08 m.; length of nose (tip to brow), 0.036 m.; length of mouth, 0.03 m.; distance from eye to ear, 0.04 m.; height of forehead, 0.03 m.; width of upper lip, 0.005 m.; distance from mouth to tip of chin, 0.03 m.; horizontal line from top of forehead to back of head, about 0.12 m.

It appeared to us immediately after the head was taken from the earth that there were clear traces of a reddish-brown color marking the iris of the left eye. These traces were visible for some time after and may be seen even now. But, as there were vestiges of similar color on other parts of the head, which may well have been caused by the oxidation of iron near it, I do not feel absolutely certain that the color on the eye is a remnant of the original coloring of the statue. So, too, the right side of the head has a uniform coating of some white color, which may be due to the remains of a ground-tone given to the whole head; or, on the other hand, it may be a chalky deposit caused by the chemical action of matter lying about it, or of some additional treatment which the head experienced in later times.

The chief element of the archæological importance which this head possesses is the fact that it seems to bear traces of Polycletan art or influence. These must appear to any student trained in the rudiments of the history of Greek sculpture. And this fact will appear still more noteworthy in the light of the hasty statement of Professor Furtwängler recently published in his essay dedicated

to Professor Brunn, and repeated in his *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik*. In discussing the now well-known head which we discovered at the Heraeum in 1892, and for which the name Hera still remains the most suitable, Professor Furtwängler not only considers this head Attic in character, but he further states that "all the other sculptures found by us or by Rhangabé at the Heraeum have nothing whatever to do with Polycletus and his school." I have endeavored to refute this assertion in a letter recently sent to the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*. But the discovery of the head here published will, I must believe, finally demonstrate *ad oculos* the groundlessness of Professor Furtwängler's statement.

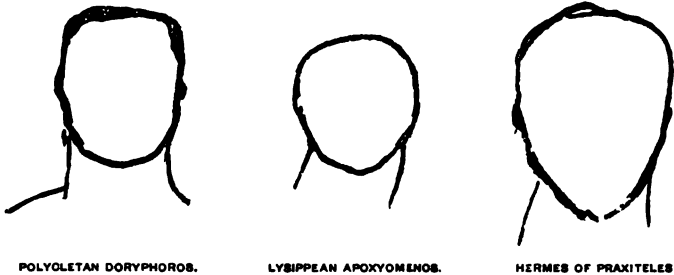
The Polycletan character of this head, and its close relation to the head of the famous *doryphoros*, in the Naples specimen as in all others, was manifest to me the moment the head was unearthed. This relationship to the heads which are universally acknowledged, by all authorities, to be Polycletan was subsequently admitted by all archæologists who visited the Heraeum.

To begin with the general impression of character, we find it the same in our marble head and in the types of the *doryphoros*.<sup>1</sup> This general impression which these Polycletan heads leave upon the spectator is that of squareness and massiveness. In the profile view this character approaches most closely to the possibility of mathematical demonstration. The outline, which depends more upon the rough blocking out of the marble, is more likely to retain the mathematical rules which guided the artist at this early stage. Now, if we ignore the curious rise of one mass of

<sup>1</sup> I have not reduced this critical comparison to the form of actual mathematical measurements. Though I think such attempts as have recently been made by A. Kalkmann (in his *Die Proportionen des Gesichtes in der griechischen Kunst*) meritorious and worthy of encouragement, I cannot myself follow this course, especially when it concerns heads of different dimensions, different workmanship, and different destination, such as metope-heads, pedimental heads, heads of statues, etc. I prefer to aim at a careful comparison of the technical and artistic characteristics based upon sober and unbiased observation, and then to endeavor to put, as accurately and soberly as possible and into definite terms, what is thus perceived; and finally to assign tangible and perceptible causes for this artistic appearance. It may be difficult to do this, and I may often fail in my endeavor; but I would beg the student to follow me closely in comparing photographs or, if possible, casts. I find that measurements in this case would not be of much use in dealing with phenomena so subtle and unmechanical, nay, more than organic—namely, artistic.

hair on the top of our head (which we may in this case discard as an individual trait not characteristic of the general style of the school), the proportions are singularly square. A perpendicular line drawn from the point of the chin upwards, and meeting the main horizontal line placed on the top of the head, is the same in length as this horizontal line bounded by perpendiculars running along the front and back of the head.

In the front-view, this impression of squareness and heaviness is maintained in the outline, in that the head is broad and comparatively short. This is best perceived by comparing the Polycletan heads with the others, say of the well-known Lysippean and Praxitelean types. The outline of our head is thus large and square; while the Lysippean head of the *apoxyomenos* in the Vatican is small and round. Again, the Praxitelean head of the *Hermes*, though larger than either in proportion, is wider at the top and at the forehead, but is longer, and tapers toward the chin. The front-view outlines of these three types of head present the following shapes :



The impression of squareness and heaviness is further produced or strengthened by the treatment of the different features. The brow and eye present a simple, broad, and flat curve. Though in the profile view the root of the nose forms a marked projection, still the eye is not deeply sunk, either in its relation to the brow and upper lid, or by the hollowing out of the portion below the lower lid, as is done in most heads of the fourth century B. C. The brow is thus broad and simple, and the distance between the eyelids is comparatively great, while the eyes are far apart. The line at the juncture between nose and brow is more rounded in our head than in the other heads of the *doryphoros* type.



The nose itself is broad and comparatively short. The tip is broad and rounded, not pointed and long, in profile view, as is the case, *e. g.*, in the Bologna bronze head called by Furtwängler the Lemnian Athena of Phidias, or in the *apoxyomenos*, or slightly drooping downwards, as in the Hermes. In these Polycletan heads the tip is not pointed as in the others, but, if we continue the lines of the bridge of the nose, it is the broadest part. Again, from nostril to nostril the nose is comparatively very broad; by contrast, that of the *apoxyomenos* (of which the nostrils are certainly unrestored) is in this respect much narrower, almost pinched in expression. The nose of the Polycletan head is one of the most effective features in giving to the face its heavy appearance.

The cheeks, especially in the profile view, present a comparatively plain surface, and their heaviness is heightened by the treatment of the chin. Unfortunately, a piece is broken away in the front of the chin of our head; still, the comparative absence of taper and its broadness and shortness are manifest, while, in the profile view, the distance from neck to chin is short.

But a most important feature is the mouth. This, slightly opened, has a somewhat pouting expression; and appears smaller than it really is, owing to the characteristic marked projection of the middle part of the thick lower lip, a feature which *all* the heads from the Heraeum have in common, and which they share with the heads hitherto admitted to be Polycletan. In the profile view, the deep grooving between the lower lip and chin accentuates the projection of the lip and adds to this pouting expression.

This expression of the mouth, coupled with the general proportions of the head, the broadness of brow, the wide distance between the eyes, the shortness and thickness of nose, the massiveness of cheek, jaw, and chin, give to the whole head a character of heaviness which contrasts strongly with the grace, softness, and roundness of Attic work.

Another marked feature which our head has in common with Polycletan heads is the position of the ears. The top of the ear is on a line with the upper eyelid, while the end of the lobe is on a line with the upper lip below the nose. A comparison with the *Capronesi* head in the British Museum, with the *apoxyomenos*, Hermes, and other fourth-century heads, shows a much higher

position of the ear; while the various *doryphoros* heads, as well as the head of Hera, have the low position of the ear. In fact, all the features just enumerated are shared by our head and the types of the *doryphoros* in a marked degree.

But I must now also dwell upon the deviations in the style of this Heraeum head from that of the head of the *doryphoros*. Yet it will be found that the heads of works universally admitted to be Polycletan (such as the bronze head by "Apollonios" at Naples, the head of the Naples statue, the marble *doryphoros* of the Vatican, the *diadoumenos* of Vaison, etc.) differ considerably among each other, and that these divergences from the established Polycletan type are much more marked in the *diadoumenos* of Vaison than in our head.

These deviations are to be found, first, in the fact that the general modelling of our head is less definite and clear-cut than in the "Apollonios" bronze. But this is probably due to the peculiarities of the marble technique in contradistinction to bronze work. I have already referred to the slight difference in the treatment of the line at the angle of brow and nose, which in our head is not so firm and severe, but is more rounded. The eyelids also are not cut with the same firmness.

But the most important difference is to be found in the treatment of the hair. No doubt, our head has suffered much by the wear of time, in that the sharpness of the ridges in the modelling of the hair has been lost. But the artist never gave the peculiar sharpness of the *doryphoros* hair to this head. Instead of the fine modelling of the single strands, not thickly undercut, lying flat over the scalp, which allow the shape of the skull to appear well-defined (so marked a feature in the hair of the *doryphoros*), the hair of our head is cut in larger, vague masses, slightly indicated; though the characteristic shape of the skull is not hidden by this treatment, as it usually is in such cases.

The deviations may be well accounted for by several causes. First, the difference between marble and bronze technique. The hair of the *doryphoros* marks that stage in bronze technique in which the locks are not cast in bold relief but follow the masses of the form, and the reminiscences of the older toreutic art in its finer engraving-work still assert themselves. The marble tech-

nique in the second half of the fifth century B. C., however, had introduced a freer treatment in broader masses, and in the work of detail some of the minute precision had been lost. But these differences of style have been remarked in the works hitherto ascribed to Polycletus. Furtwängler himself has pointed out<sup>2</sup> the difference in the style of the Amazon and the *doryphoros*. He gives *circa* 440 B. C. as the date of the Amazon. "But his *doryphoros* is certainly not later, but earlier than the Amazon, as the latter demands the existence of the former, and as its style, especially in the flat-lying hair, appears older." The date of the *doryphoros* would thus be earlier than 440 B. C.; and, if there are discrepancies in the treatment of hair between that work and the Amazon, how much greater must we expect the discrepancy to be between it and a work which cannot be earlier than 423 B. C.

Finally, we must bear in mind the original destination of different works as modifying the treatment of details. The hair as treated in a pedimental figure, or in one from a metope or a frieze, to be seen from a great distance, must necessarily be different from that of a work to be seen close at hand. If, for instance, Furtwängler is right in his ingenious identification of the Bologna bronze head with the head of the Lemnian Athena by Phidias, how could we ascribe this work, with its richly-modelled hair, and the lapith-heads from the metopes of the Parthenon, with their cap-like expanse of hair (no doubt assisted in the indication of texture by color), to the same Phidias origin—if we judged merely from the treatment of this detail.

Though, as I believe I have shown elsewhere, the comparison which Furtwängler makes between our head of Hera from the Heraeum and the small Brauronian head at Berlin, so far from showing any relationship between them reveals essential contrasts; still, even if we could trace some Attic elements in the Hera head and the other sculptures from the Heraeum, these would in no way make them Attic. For it would be strange if, with the advance made in marble work in Attica during the period of the artistic leadership of Phidias, and with all the sculptured decorations of the numerous buildings erected in this period at Athens, the sculptors working at the Heraeum more than twenty years

<sup>2</sup> *Meisterwerke der griech. Plastik*, p. 414.

later should not have felt the Attic influence, as probably the Parian marble-workers had, at an earlier period, influenced the Attic workers in marble technique. It would be a curious and unprecedented view to maintain that Polycletus and his school never worked in marble. Still, I suspect that this general view is held by Furtwängler, and that it is this general view which has led him to such a sweeping and hasty statement with regard to the sculptures from the Heraeum.

Should traces of Attic workmanship be found in some sculptures of the Argive school, it is probable that we may find Argive influences in the Attic work of this later period, as they have already been suggested by Petersen and others in earlier Attic work.

We must remember that, at the date of the building of the Heraeum, Phidias was dead, Polycletus was distinctly the most renowned sculptor of Greece, and that the Argive school under him was so famous and flourishing that its offshoots spread over Greece, and may have started that important school at Sicyon which made this town the most noted centre for painting as well as sculpture in the next century. If Lysippus is reported to have considered the *doryphoros* of Polycletus his teacher, no doubt many an artist contemporary with Polycletus was equally influenced by his works, even if such an artist lived at a distance. And there is one instance of a definite work upon which I must lay some stress. For I again venture to suspect that Furtwängler may have been guided in assigning an Attic origin to the Hera by the similarity of head-dress which this work has to the *Caryatides* of the Erechtheum. I had noticed this similarity; but I discarded any idea of the immediate identity of school, when I compared the rounded treatment of the faces of the Attic maidens with that of our head of Hera. Yet the similarity in other points is most natural, when we consider the proximity of date between the building of the Athenian and the Argive temples. Furthermore, we must remember that among the famous works of Polycletus, according to Cicero (*in Verr.* iv. 3-5), were two *Canephorae* maidens which he represented in the Attic dress. The existence of such well-known works by the most famous sculptor of the day would well account for the similarity; *only it would be the Caryatides of*

the *Erechtheum* which would be influenced by the Argive work, and the Attic influence in the head-dress of the *Hera* would be illusory.

But to return to our head of the *ephebos*. In spite of the differences in the treatment of the hair, the characteristics of this head are distinctly those of the *doryphoros* head, and it must thus be classed as Polycletan. It only confirms what all other arguments led us to believe, that all the works from the temple of *Hera* (in which Polycletus of Argos, the leading sculptor of the day, fashioned the famous gold and ivory statue) are Argive works of the Polycletan school, as the sculptures of the Parthenon are Attic works of the Phidias school. And it would require very powerful reasons and numerous definite facts to justify us in doubts of this natural ascription.

CHARLES WALDSTEIN.

August, 1894.

## STAMPED TILES FROM THE ARGIVE HERAEUM.

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Clay that is to be fired presents an opportunity easily to fix a name so that it shall become more durable than one laboriously chiseled in stone. This opportunity is one too tempting to be neglected, and from the time when the Assyrians stamped their bricks, down to the present day, it has been improved. Tiles and bricks made by Romans, and impressed with the names of the legions by whom and for whom they were made, have been found all over Western Europe.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps less attention has been paid to Greek material of this character because the material itself has been less abundant. Birch (*Ancient Pottery*, p. 116 ff.) gives a list of the examples known at the time of the publication of that work. But that was nearly forty years ago; and even the second edition is more than twenty years old. In this interval many additions have been made to our stock.

The two great excavations at Olympia and Delos, to be sure, added little to this material. But at Lycosura many tiles were found bearing the stamp Δεσποίνας.<sup>2</sup> We also have three stamped tiles from Chios,<sup>3</sup> two from Magnesia,<sup>4</sup> two bricks from Tralles.<sup>5</sup> Similar material comes from the Peiraeus,<sup>6</sup> Tanagra,<sup>7</sup> Tegea,<sup>8</sup> Elaeteia,<sup>9</sup> and Eretria.<sup>10</sup> Of especial interest is a tile fragment from the temple of Apollo at Amyclae, in the Central Museum at Athens, and not yet published. On this the stamp has been impressed twice. The first time it was done so carelessly that only the top

<sup>1</sup> MARINI, *Inscrizioni doliari*; BIRCH, *Ancient Pottery*, at the end.

<sup>2</sup> *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Mitth. des deutsch. Arch. Inst., Athen*, XIII, p. 182.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, XIV, pp. 105, 106.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, x, p. 327.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, p. 209.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Mitth. des deutsch. Arch. Inst., Athen*, IV, p. 144.

<sup>9</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, XI, p. 109.

<sup>10</sup> *Eleventh Annual Report of the Am. School of Classical Studies at Athens*, p. 40. In the excavations of the present year at Eretria another example was found.

line "took." We read Α Π Ο Λ Λ Ω Ν Ο Σ. It is perfectly evident, however, from the breadth of the indentation in the clay, that another line ought to be there. But by good luck the workman saw his failure, and planted his stamp again about an inch higher up, this time squarely. The larger portion of the lower line has been spared. Just at the top of the fragment we read:

Λ Λ Ω Ι  
Μ Υ Κ Λ Α Ι Ο Ι

Hardly less interesting is a brick from Sparta stamped:

Π Λ Ι Ν Θ Ο Ι Δ Α Μ Ο Σ Ι Α Ι Κ Κ Α Ν Ο  
Θ Η Κ Α Σ Ε Π Ι Κ Α Λ Λ Ι Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε Ο Σ  
Ε Ρ Γ Ω Ν Α Ν Ι Κ Α Σ Ι Ω Ν Ο Σ <sup>11</sup>

A tile was found at Epidaurus with the stamp Α Ν Τ Ω Ν Ε Ι Ν Ο Υ. <sup>12</sup> Many of a similar character were found at Megalopolis. <sup>13</sup>

But the largest store has been found at Pergamon. By the kindness of Dr. Wolters I have been allowed to see copies of these from the article of Schuchhardt now in preparation. These contain 112 different stamps, and in some cases there are over 40 impressions from a single stamp.

It is not likely that I have seen all the material which has been found in later years and received casual mention in various periodicals; but enough has been here catalogued to show that certain stamped tiles found in the excavations of the American School at the Argive Heraeum are no isolated phenomenon in Greece.

Of these tiles three fall at once into a class. One fragment yields Π Χ Ι Τ Ε Κ Τ Ω Ν, a second Τ Ε Κ Τ Ω Ν, and a third Ω Ω Κ Λ Η Ω Α Ρ Ψ. The letters in all three are of the same form, about a half an inch long, and raised. <sup>14</sup> There is no room for doubt that they are all from a single stamp, and one can easily restore for all the reading:

Ω Ω Κ Λ Η Ω Α Ρ Ψ Ι Τ Ε Κ Τ Ω Ν

<sup>11</sup> *Mith. des deutsch. Arch. Inst., Athen*, II, p. 441.

<sup>12</sup> *KABBADIAS, Fouilles d' Epidaure*, p. 107, No. 247.

<sup>13</sup> *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 140, and *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, XIII, pp. 332, 336.

<sup>14</sup> Particularly noteworthy are the small ω, the Ω with oblique upper and lower bars, the κ with short oblique bars, and the very long Ψ, which makes Ψ κ τ ω ascend like the side of a flight of steps.

By a piece of good fortune, the Central Museum possesses a fragment found by Stamatakis at the Heraeum in 1878, containing  $\Lambda\text{H}\xi\text{APXITEKT}\sim\text{N}$ , evidently stamped with the same die. To remove any lingering doubt as to all these pieces belonging to a series, it may be added that they are all of the same thickness (0.035 m.); that about 0.025 m. from the top (which is the only original edge preserved) a thin stripe is impressed; that the stamp is in each case placed immediately below this line, always on the concave side of the tile, which on this side had a finish not given to the other side; and that the clay in all is rather coarse. After working out this problem, I had my attention called to a whole tile in the Polytechnikon, found by Dr. Schliemann in 1874 in the village of Chonika, about a mile and a half from the Heraeum. Here stands in full:

$\xi\sim\text{K}\Lambda\text{H}\xi\text{APXITEKT}\sim\text{N}$

At the bottom of the tile is another stamp:

$\Delta\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{I}\text{O}\text{I}\text{H}\text{P}\text{A}\xi$

This is, of course, for  $\Delta\mu\acute{o}\sigma\text{i}\text{o}\text{i}\ \text{Ἡρας}$ ,<sup>15</sup> and would mark the tiles (*κέραμοι* being understood) as the public property of Hera.

On the stamped tile from Sparta, above mentioned, we had *πλίνθοι δαμόσiai σκανοθήκας*, an exactly parallel case. So on the Peiraeus fragments we have  $\text{M}\text{O}\Sigma\text{I}\text{A}\text{P}\text{E}\text{I}\text{P}$  with *πλίνθος* probably supplied. The three Tanagra tiles bear  $\xi\text{O}\text{I}\xi\text{O}\text{M}\Lambda\Delta$ .<sup>16</sup> The Tegea tile bears  $\Delta\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\xi\text{I}\text{O}\xi$ .<sup>17</sup> A fragment of brick also from Tegea has —*της δαμόσιον*.<sup>18</sup>

Another tile, an inch thick and of great concavity, found at the Heraeum, has  $\Delta\text{A}\text{M}\text{O}\text{I}\text{O}\text{I}$ .<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> In some Argive inscriptions  $\sigma$  between vowels is changed to  $h$ , as in [ $\Delta\mu\sigma$ ]la, ROBERTS, *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, No. 79, and  $\text{Ἐπολιπῆ}$ , No. 81, while in other cases, in the same position, it vanishes altogether. Thus in *CIG.*, I, 1120,  $\text{Τελείππος}$  is used three times for  $\text{Τελέσιππος}$ , and  $\text{Θράϊλλος}$  for  $\text{Θράσυλλος}$  (in COLLITZ and BECHTEL, *Argivische Inschriften*, p. 127, the rough breathing is given to these names). See AHRÈNS, *De Graecae Linguae Dialectis*, II, p. 78 f.

<sup>16</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, XI, p. 209.

<sup>17</sup> *Mitth. des deutsch. Arch. Inst.*, Athen, IV, p. 144.

<sup>18</sup> LE BAS et FOUCART, *Inscr. du Peloponnèse*, p. 341 f.

<sup>19</sup> At Eretria, this year, a small fragment of a tile was found containing apparently  $\Delta\text{H}\text{M}\text{O}$  EPETPI, but if  $\Delta\text{H}\text{M}\text{O}$  be the true reading of the somewhat worn letters, H and M are strangely crowded together. The letters really look more like  $\Delta\text{I}\text{M}\text{O}$ , an interesting iotacism.



This word *δαμοίαι* does not put us in possession of any very definite information, such as that secured by the English excavators at Megalopolis, who identified the Philippeium by stamped tiles.<sup>20</sup> The whole precinct was sacred to Hera, and the tiles of any building, or even of a drain-pipe, might have been said to belong to her.

One's first thought is of roof-tiles. But the tile that we have entire in the Polytechnikon is very heavy and coarse. It is 1.10 m. long, 0.51 m. broad at the top, 0.44 m. broad at the bottom, 0.035 thick. The edges are cut off with a slant, making a cross section of this form :

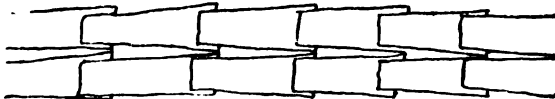
It has been suggested to me that it might be a drain-tile, but so slight is the concavity that it would take at least five such pieces to make a cylinder, and this would be enormously large—a metre and a half or more in diameter. Of course, this might be the case; the tiles, however, would not make joints, but would simply touch one another with sharp edges, thus :



It is not likely that the edges would have been made to fit so poorly if this had been the end for which the tiles were designed. Neither is it likely that tiles like this were intended to go in pairs, making a flat drain (one being imposed upon the other), for in that case the edges would have met thus :



For only one sort of a drain does a tile of this shape seem fit, viz., for an open drain. The lower smaller end of each upper tile would fit into the broader upper end of each lower tile, and make a good drain for a small quantity of water, *e. g.*, the dripings from a roof. But it would be strange if such drains existed in quantity enough to have afforded us almost our only survivals of Heraeum tiles. Furthermore, a system that was fit for an exposed drain was fit to serve as a series of gutter-tiles on a roof (*σολήνες*). The zigzag edge was perhaps rude, but it could be covered by the *καλυπτήρες*, as may be seen by the annexed cut :



<sup>20</sup> *Excavations at Megalopolis*, p. 141.

There is a breadth of only slightly over 0.14 m. to be covered by the *καλυπτήρ*. It would be just 0.14 m. if the turned up edges of the *σωλήνες*, for so we may now call them, were cut off straight and not with a slant. If the *καλυπτήρες* were as thick as the *σωλήνες*, they must have had a superficial breadth of 0.21 m.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps we may assume 0.25 m. as a maximum. The *σωλήνες* could have at most only 0.30 m. exposed.<sup>22</sup>

The actual result was probably a roof divided in its surface about equally between gutter-tiles and covering tiles. The taper of the gutter-tiles affords an easy way of fitting each one into the next lower. Probably the covering tiles were arranged in the same easy way, the narrow upper end being overlapped by the broad end of the next covering tile. Perhaps this may not have made so dainty a roof as those of buildings with marble tiles, with their delicate *καλυπτήρες*, or as that of the Treasury of Gela at Olympia with its more carefully matched clay tiles. But that it is a probable and natural arrangement is shown by the fact that tiles are now adjusted in the same way. The only difference is that they are made much smaller. The tile in the Polytechnikon must be twenty or thirty times as heavy as those now in common use on the roofs in Athens. They were large enough to be held in position by their own weight, without mortar, even in spite of considerable wind, thus making a roof comparable to those made of flat stones, so common in the valleys of Northern Italy, where fierce winds sweep down over the passes.

These tiles might be taken as quite old and primitive were it not for the stamp, which forbids such a thought. This even forbids putting them so far back as the erection of the new temple of Hera, which was probably begun soon after the destruction of the older temple in 423 B. C., and completed before 400 B. C., to say nothing of the fact that Pausanias mentions Eupolemus as the architect of that temple. The West Building, also, if the signs of its age have been correctly estimated by the visiting architects, could not have borne these tiles on its *first* roof. Its massive character, however, and the short span of its roof would make it a very proper building to carry such heavy tiles.

<sup>21</sup> The computation would be as follows: the taper of the *σωλήν* (0.07) plus twice the thickness of its edge (0.14).

<sup>22</sup> The computation would be as follows:  $0.44 - (0.035 \times 2 + 0.035 \times 2) = 0.30$ .

Not to be too exact about the forms of letters on a *stamp*, and that, too, outside of Attica, where we are always uncertain as to dates of certain forms, we may yet say with considerable safety that the stamp cannot be earlier than the fourth century. The small *omega* would seem to make it venturesome even to put it into that century at all. But against any very late date may be arrayed the following considerations :

1. A has a straight crossbar.
2.  $\approx$  has its upper and lower branches very divergent.
3. There is no attempt at ornamentation.

The place of finding of the fragments seems to give no clue as to the building on which they were used, for in only one case have we any record of that item : one was found at the east end of the Stoa above the new temple. But they may have belonged to some building made several centuries after the temple of Hera.

We must be on our guard. The stamp-maker may have indulged in an affected archaism. The irregularity of the ending  $\text{EK T} \sim \text{N}$  may be due to that. On the Amyclae stamp there is no sign of a later date than 300 B. C., other than a very late form of the *omega* (W). As for  $\approx$  with divergent upper and lower bars, it is found on bricks made perchance a year ago at Chalkis.

As to the name *Sokles*, a *Koseform* for *Sosikles*, it is common enough, and affords no particular interest. But the meaning of *ἀρχιτέκτων* is an interesting question. The word seems, judging from its use in numerous inscriptions, to have the definite meaning of "supervising architect," holding office sometimes for the erection of a certain building, as in the case of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, or for a term during which he would supervise all building and repairs, as at Delos. His office is well described by Fabricius (*Hermes*, xvii, p. 17), and by Homolle (*Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, xiv, pp. 477 ff.), who remarks: *Dans un grand Sanctuaire comme celui de Delos, où les réparations, à défaut même de travaux neufs, exigeaient continuellement la surveillance et la capacité d'un homme de métier, on ne pouvait se passer d'un architecte. L'habitude d'attacher d'une façon permanente un architecte aux temples était assez répandue dans le monde grec.*

In CIA., I, 322, *Philokles* is mentioned as an *ἀρχιτέκτων*, who with a *γραμματεὺς* belonged to a board of *ἐπιστάται τοῦ νεῶ τοῦ ἐν πόλει, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαίου ἄγαλμα*, supposed to be the Erech-

theum. In *CIA.*, I, 324, a year later probably, for work on the same building an ἀρχιτέκτων named Archilochus received 37 drachmas for one prytny and 36 for another. This is pretty clearly a drachma a day. According to the same account, men who worked on columns got as high wages as 20 or even 22 drachmas a prytny. In *CIA.*, I, 60, ἀρχιτέκτων and ἀρχιτέκτονες are frequently mentioned in connection with what is supposed to be the same work as that above mentioned. In an inscription from Delos, published by Homolle,<sup>23</sup> a certain Philistides receives a payment of one drachma a day. Homolle supposes him to have been the *architekton* who supervised all the buildings at the time on the island of Delos. At any rate, it appears that nothing was done in great building enterprises without the consent and advice of the *architekton*. κελεύει ἀρχιτέκτων is a phrase of very common occurrence in building-inscriptions; it occurs 34 times in the accounts of the *hieropoioi* of the temple of Apollo at Delos, edited by Homolle in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, VI, pp. 6 ff. The *hieropoioi* make payments at the order of the ἀρχιτέκτονος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν, *ibid.* pp. 7, 8. In the Eleusinian inscription published by Foucart, *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, IV, 226 ff., we read ὅπου ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς καὶ τῷ ἀρχιτέκτωνι. In the great building-inscription of Lebadea (*Insc. Graec. Sept.* 3073, line 160), we see that a completed piece of work is submitted to the ἀρχιτέκτων, while minutiae like the separate joints are attended to by a ὑπαρχιτέκτων.<sup>24</sup>

In an inscription from Epidaurus<sup>25</sup> mention is repeatedly made of an *architekton* Theodotos, who served for a period of over six years at a salary of a drachma a day.<sup>26</sup> But the salary of an ἀρχιτέκτων was not uniformly a drachma a day.<sup>27</sup> In the year 279 B. C., at Delos, he received two drachmas a day; but at the same time certain workmen, *Nikon* and his son, get the same amount for working on a column.<sup>28</sup> At Eleusis, in the time of Ly-

<sup>23</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, VIII, p. 305 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. line 53: ἀρεστῶς τοῖς νεοποιοῖς καὶ τῷ ἀρχιτέκτωνι (it was easy for Dittenberger to restore in No. 3075 [καθὼς ἂν κελεύῃ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων]). Cf., also, *CIG.*, 2266, line 19: ἐπειδὴν δὲ συντελεσθῆ τὸ ἔργον, ἐπαγγειλάτω ὁ ἐργῶνης τοῖς ἐπιστάταις καὶ τῷ ἀρχιτέκτωνι.

<sup>25</sup> KABBADIAS, *Fouilles d' Epidauré*, p. 78, *Inscr. No.* 145.

<sup>26</sup> His payment for one year is 350 drachmas; for another it is 353 drachmas.

<sup>27</sup> See the list given by Homolle in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, XIV, p. 478.

curgus, an ἀρχιτέκτων received 72 drachmas for one prytañy, or two drachmas a day,<sup>29</sup> while an epistates of seven men received only ten drachmas for the same time.<sup>30</sup>

The ἀρχιτέκτων ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά at Athens,<sup>31</sup> and the ἀρχιτέκτων who had so much to do with the theatre of Dionysus, were undoubtedly supervising architects, whatever other functions went along with that office. The four persons mentioned in *CIA.*, II, 194, col. c, as ἀρχιτέκτονες, are similarly engaged, although their work is at the Peiraeus in connection with the ships.

Two things come out reasonably clearly from this list of inscriptions:

1. When a man is called an ἀρχιτέκτων, as *Sokles* here is, he cannot be considered to be the head of a tile factory.<sup>32</sup> In that case he would probably have been called κεραμεύς. *Sokles* was doubtless the supervising architect for some particular building or for some one or more years.

2. The other result may seem surprising; but it does appear that a man who undertook important responsibilities, requiring special knowledge and training, received the small payment of one or two drachmas a day.<sup>33</sup> This may be a good illustration that officials in Greece did not look for great profit. Quite likely, the only reason why the architect at Athens was paid at all, while the board of ἐπιστάται with whom he was associated gave their services free, was that he had to give up *all* his time to the work. Perhaps the payment given to a member of the Boulé during his time of actual service was regarded as a proper standard in paying for this sort of service. Probably the only difference between such an ἀρχιτέκτων as *Sokles* and Ictinus or Libon,<sup>34</sup> was that the latter were engaged in more important undertakings.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. line 71 of the great inscription published by Homolle in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, XIV, pp. 389 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *CIA.*, II, 834<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, col. II, line 9.

<sup>32</sup> *CIA.*, II, 403, line 28.

<sup>33</sup> For the head of a tile factory to style himself ἀρχιτέκτων would probably have seemed more of a wresting of language than when now-a-days a dancing-master assumes the title of professor. FOUCAUT (in *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, VIII, p. 407) understands a brick from Thebes to bear the stamp of the maker's name, adding: *Les marques de ce genre sont encore assez rares en Grèce.*

<sup>34</sup> That an architect was a man of some standing might appear from the words of [PLATO], *Anterastae*, p. 135 B: 'Ἐν τῇ τεκτονικῇ τέκτονα μὲν ἂν πλείω πέντε ἢ ἕξ μνῶν ἄκρον, ἀρχιτέκτονα δὲ οὐδ' ἂν μιλίων δραχμῶν.

<sup>35</sup> It is a little strange that PAUSANIAS (v. 103) speaks of Libon as a τέκτων.

A word may here be added as to the practical reason for stamping tiles. *Sokles*, who *may* of course have had his own tile-making establishment, did not wish to have a pile of his tiles stolen or mixed up with similar tiles.<sup>35</sup> Perhaps it is not without a bearing on such possible purloining that we read an account of the *hieropoioi* at Delos,<sup>36</sup> running thus: "Bought 200 pairs of tiles; put 70 pairs on one building, 44 on another; and turned over to the following *hieropoioi* a remainder of 76." No mention is made of the deficit of ten.

The tiles were probably formed in a wooden mould, like that referred to in an inventory of Delos<sup>37</sup> as a *τύπος ξύλινος κεραμίδων*. That in some cases the stamp was affixed by a separate impression might seem probable from the fact that the upper stamp with *Sokles'* name was not exactly uniform with reference to the stripe above it. But this may also be accounted for by supposing the metallic stamp, which made the letters so clearly cut, to have been a little loosened from the wood of the mould in some cases. I saw some moulds at a brick manufactory in Eleusis, the other day, in just that condition.

The other stamped fragments found at the Heraeum during the first two years of excavation are so small that it is difficult to tell whether they are tiles or plaques. On one from the so-called West Building, 0.12 × 0.07 m., roughly estimated, we have:

Ε Π Ι Ν Ι Κ Ο

A

After A what looks like P follows, but this is uncertain. The rest of the lower line is worn away. Coming to this from the pieces just discussed, one would be predisposed to read *Ἐπίνικος ἀρχιτέκτων*, but it is quite as likely that *ἐπί* is a preposition followed by a genitive, as in so many of the Corfú stamps containing the names of prytans (Riemann, *Les Isles Ioniennes*, pp. 47, 54), or in the numerous stamps on amphora-handles collected by Dumont in *Insc. Céramiques de la Grèce*. The word following the

<sup>35</sup> The stamp with *Sokles'* name, being on the upper end, would disappear when the tile was laid, even if it were a gutter-tile.

<sup>36</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, VI, p. 136.

<sup>37</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, VI, pp. 29 ff.

name may be ἄρχοντος, for aught we know. Another fragment still smaller, 0.09 × 0.07 m., has a name clearly in the genitive.

To the left we read:           ΥΟΛΙ  
  Λ`

It is evident that the top line runs from right to left, and we probably have a name ending in λου. If the next line turns back in a Boustrophedon order, we may here have ἐπι -- λου ἄρχοντος or ἀρχιτέκτωνος. Such a turning back of the second line is seen in one of the Megalopolis tiles.<sup>38</sup> In our inscription, as in that one, ΔΥΟ is also possible, since the mark at the edge of the fragment, after the supposed Α, looks oblique, and may be a part of a Υ. The reading of the name from right to left has many parallels in stamps. A Megalopolis tile<sup>39</sup> has the name Φιλισπολίμην read this way. The three tiles from Tanagra read in the same way,<sup>40</sup> as well as one of the three tiles from Chios before mentioned. The maker of the stamp in these cases preferred to cut his letters running in the usual order, regardless of the hundreds of impressions which would thus read reversed.

We are sure that in some cases the stamps were not cut as a whole, but were made up of movable letters.<sup>41</sup> On an amphora-handle from the Peiraeus,<sup>42</sup> the reading is from right to left; but the letters Σ, Ρ and Κ are left turned the other way. In turning his letters the workman forgot to arrange them so as to make the direction of the word and of the letter consistent.

A series of four tile fragments was found on the south slope below the Heraeum just at the close of the last year's work (spring 1894). These contain:

1.           ΕΠΙΠΟΛΥΓΝΛ
2.           ΕΠΙΠΟ
3.           ΕΓ
4.                           V ω

They are all impressed on the concave side of fragments about

<sup>38</sup> *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, XIII, p. 336, No. 1.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, XI, p. 209.

<sup>41</sup> BLÜMNER, *Technologie und Terminologie*, II, p. 32; and DUMONT, *Inscr. Céram.*, pp. 395, 396, 398, where are cuts illustrating the making up of these stamps, in some of which letters are misplaced.

<sup>42</sup> *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, XI, p. 207.

an inch thick. The letters are not raised, as in the other fragments here catalogued, but depressed. The fact that in No. 1 € is so close to the Π as not to allow room for the cross-bar of the latter to extend so far to the left as in Nos. 2 and 3, points to a slight difference in the moulds, possibly due to the use of movable letters. The date of this stamp is evidently very late. Whether Polygnotus was an architect or a sacred official for the year is not known.

At the same time and place was found a small fragment with very large letters (about an inch long) furnishing the beginning of two lines:

Ε Π  
Μ Α

and a still smaller piece of the upper right-hand corner of a tile with ζ next to the preserved edge. This ζ is exactly like those in the *Sokles* stamps, and the piece agrees in thickness; but this cannot belong to that series unless the *Δαμοίσι* Ἦρας was transferred to the top. There are also two stamps from late Roman times found in the second year's work, one on a piece of tile so small that it affords only Κ Λ Ο Ι Ε Ε (the letters are perfectly plain). The second one is broken a little at the right-hand lower corner, and the raised letters are badly worn in the middle of the second line, but it looks as if it were not going to be difficult to read. It runs from right to left, thus:

V O I Δ V A Λ X  
 Δ Ε Ξ Ξ Ο Θ Α X  
 A Λ Ξ Ξ V O I

Hopefully as the first line and the first half of the second look, affording *Κλαυδίου Κλεοσθ* — —, we must leave the rest unsolved.

Besides the stamps here described, there were several letters, apparently scratched into some of the tiles when these were moist. But they furnish no words. Perhaps they were builders' marks, or marks to designate property.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

American School, Athens,  
July, 1894.



## SOME INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARGIVE HERAEUM.

---

The inscriptions here published were found in the spring of 1893. They are none of them older than the second period in the Argive inscriptions, which is especially characterized by the three-stroke *sigma* (  $\zeta$  ) and by the dotted *omicron* (  $\odot$  ) (cf. Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup> p. 98; Roberts, *Grk. Epig.*, pp. 108, 117). Several are considerably later than the date of the introduction of the Ionic alphabet, which probably took place in Argos, as elsewhere, about the close of the Peloponnesian War (cf. Kirchhoff, *o. c.*, p. 100). The fragment XI, indeed, can scarcely be earlier than Roman times, and No. XII, which will be published later as an addendum to the present series, is very likely of much the same date.

### I.

Inscribed on a small Doric capital and on a portion of its column found in the West Building (cf. Waldstein, *Twelfth Annual Report* of the Am. School, p. 34), near the third base of the inner row of columns, counting from the south (excavator's note). Now in the guard's hut at the site of the excavations. Diameter of column, 1 ft.; height of echinus, 4 in.; width of abacus, 1 ft. 9 in.; height of abacus, 4 in.; height of letters, about .8 in.

(a) is inscribed on the abacus and is difficult to read, owing to the damaged state of the surface of the stone. Professor Tarbell was the first to read line 1, but the defective squeeze which he used did not show the letters in line 2. It is possible, but not certain, that the letters  $\tau \odot \text{N}$  should be read before  $\Pi$  in line 2.

(a)  $\epsilon\nu \text{N}\epsilon] \mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \text{T}\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \tau\epsilon \nu\text{---}\nu\bar{\nu} \text{---}\nu\text{---}\text{---}$   
 . . .  $\text{P}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu[a \dots$

(b) is inscribed on the column, there being two letters in each flute, as is shown in the facsimile. The uneven stretching of the squeeze has caused the lines to appear not quite equi-distant from one another.



(a) shows clearly that the inscription is the dedication of some object by a victor in various games (cf. Furtwängler, *Mittheil. Athen.*, v, pp. 30 and 31, note 2). Similar inscriptions are quoted by Pausanias in his account of Olympia, and the excavations there have yielded some of the same class (cf. *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1876–1878). The following numbers from the Anthology may also be cited for comparison: XIII. 5, 8, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19. XVI. (Planudea), 23, 24. Vol. III, (Firmin-Didot), I. 23, 24, 30, 44, 50, 82, 89, 102, 106, 291. *Addenda* to Vol. III, I. 86 b.

II.

Inscribed on a stone built into the wall of one of the dwellings(?) which adjoin the stoa marked C on the map (cf. Pl. XVI, and Waldstein in *Twelfth Annual Report of the Am. School*, pp. 31, 32). The wall is not of the best construction, and the inscribed stone was undoubtedly brought from elsewhere and built in at a date later than that of the cutting of the inscription. The dimensions of the stone, which has apparently been cut down to fit into its present position, are 2 ft. 11.5 in. by 1 ft. 11.5 in., and the upper line of the letters is 3.5 in. below the top of the stone. The height of the letters is about 3 in. The upper left-hand corner of the stone is broken off. The inscription is very clearly cut. The apparent dot in the first O is almost certainly only a break in the surface of the stone. The form of *sigma* is noteworthy in an Argive inscription.



Possibly this may be a patronymic genitive in a dedicatory inscription.

III.

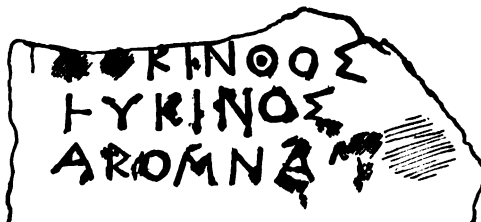
Found just to the south of the West Building among some architectural fragments. The inscribed stone is of irregular shape, but the measurements may be roughly given as 11 in. by 5 in. The height of the letters is about 1.2 in. The dot in the O is not entirely certain. The stone is in the museum at Argos.



. . . ο (or ω) ν ἀ ν [έ θ η κ ε (?)

IV.

Found in the same place as III. Inscribed on an irregularly broken fragment 1 ft. by 8 in. in size. The height of the letters is about .5 in. In the museum at Argos.



Κόρινθος

Λυκίνοσ

ι] αρομνάμ[oves

Possibly the stone formed the upper part of a stele.

V.

Found between the bases of the inner row of columns in Stoa C and on a level with them, at a point about one-third of the length of the stoa, measured from the west end. The inscription is on a marble block measuring 10 in. by 10 in. by 3.6 in. The letters are about .7 in. in height. There is a round hole in the top of the block 1.6 in. in diameter. Of the name of the first dedicator only a single upright bar of one letter is preserved. The stone is in the Central Museum at Athens.

Η υ β ρ ί λ α σ  
ἀ ν ε θ έ τ α ν

The name *Hybrilas* does not occur elsewhere, though *Hybrillos* and *Hybrilides* exist. On the suffix *-λας* see Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*, p. 123, and Pape-Benseler, *Lex.*, p. xxx.

The really important feature in this inscription is the form  $\sqrt{\quad}$  = B. With the exception of a bronze plaque said to be from Hermione, but apparently of doubtful provenience, the Argive inscriptions of early date give but one example of the letter B. This occurs in the proper name *Βορθαγόρας*, which with others is inscribed on a stone that is built into the foundation of the eastern tower of the ruined castle on the Larisa at Argos (cf. *IAG.* 30 = *Dialekt-Inschriften* 3260 = Roberts, *Grk. Epig.*, 73). Here our copies give the form  $\boxtimes$ . But, in the light of the new form for this letter, the stone needs to be carefully examined, since, owing to the worn condition of its surface, an error might easily be possible.

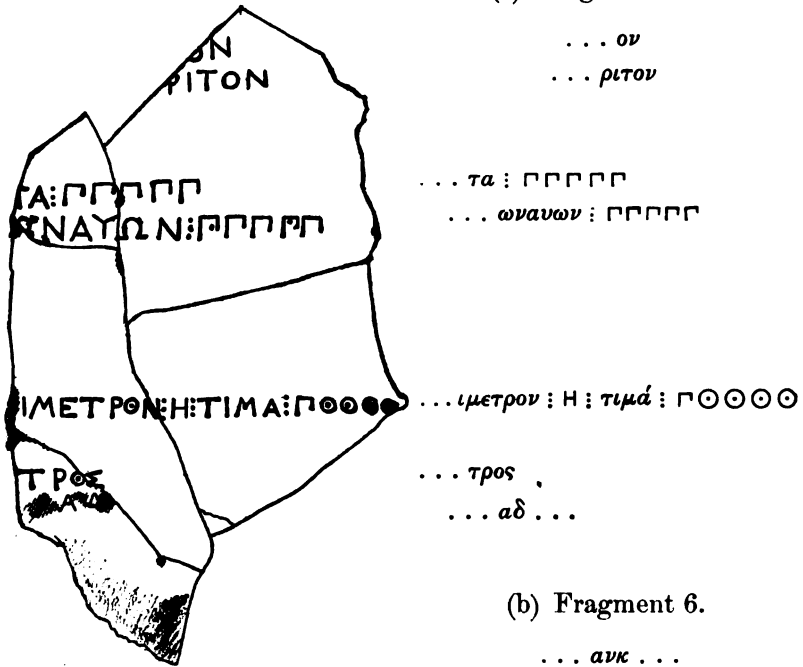
The plaque from Hermione has been published by Fröhner in the *Revue Archéologique* for 1891, II, pp. 50 ff., and, with extended comment, by Robert in the *Monumenti Antichi*, 1891, pp. 593 ff. B occurs twice (lines 2, 6) in the word  $\boxtimes \bullet \vdash$  A. It should be observed that the upper lateral stroke is not at right angles with the vertical stroke, as is the case with the example from the Heraeum. There is, however, no essential difference in the forms. If the bronze plaque is not Argive, but represents a form of the alphabet in use at Hermione, we must suppose, as Fröhner has pointed out, that there existed there almost simultaneously two forms of the early alphabet, that of Argos (note the letter  $\vdash$  on the bronze plaque), and a form closely allied to the Lacedaemonian (cf. Roberts, p. 284, and Kirchhoff, *Studien*<sup>4</sup> p. 160). It is more probable that the plaque is of immediate Argive origin, and this view, to which both Fröhner and Robert incline, is now shown to be almost certainly the correct one by the inscription from the Heraeum. The resemblance of this form of *beta* to that of the letter in several of the insular alphabets (C), and in the alphabet of Megara ( $\sqrt{\quad}$ ) has been remarked by Robert, *l. c.*

## VI.

Inscribed on a white fine-grained limestone, which splits with conchoidal fracture. Found in Stoa C, between the back wall

and the inner row of columns (Washington's note). Six irregularly broken fragments of the stone have been found, five of which may readily be fitted together. These measure roughly 1 ft. by 8 in., the sixth fragment 3 in. by 1 in. The height of the letters is 0.4 in. The inscription is in the Central Museum at Athens.

(a) Fragments 1-5.



(b) Fragment 6.

The inscription is extremely well cut, and the surface of the stone in excellent condition, so that the failure to discover more fragments is peculiarly to be regretted. It seems to have been an account of moneys paid out possibly for building materials. We might restore *ξύλων αἰων* in line 4, but the inscription is so broken away at the left that conjectural restorations are not worth much. One Argive inscription gives Η = 100, Γ = 50, ⊙ = 10, cf. Reinach, *Traité d'Épigraphie grecque*, p. 218; Dittenberger, *Hermes*, VII, p. 62 ff., comments on the inscription, which is also published as No. 3286 in the *Dialekt-Inscr.*; Larfeld in Müller's *Handbuch*, I<sup>2</sup>, pp. 541 ff. Perhaps, however, ⊙ = omicron, as

in other portions of the inscription, and signifies an obol. But how are we to read Γ? If it means five or fifty drachmas in line 5, its repetition up to five places would surely be most unusual. Professor F. D. Allen has suggested to me that it may be used to designate a coin of given value (*cf.* Reinach, *Traité*, p. 217, and note 3). Professor Allen has also suggested the reading ὠνά ἰών in line 4, thus connecting the inscription with the purchase of sacrificial animals. Compare the sacrificial calendar from Cos, *JHS.* ix, pp. 323 ff., published also in Paton's *Corpus of Coan Inscriptions*. Line 5, however, seems to me rather to suggest the purchase of building materials. We might perhaps imagine in line 5 something that had a περίμετρον (δίμετρον or τρίμετρον seems difficult, since it involves the use of μέτρον as a linear unit) of 100, and in line 3 the . . . τα might belong to some such expression as ποί τὰ διαστύλων θυρώμα-τα (*cf.* lines 63-64 of the Epidaurian temple-inscription).

## VII.

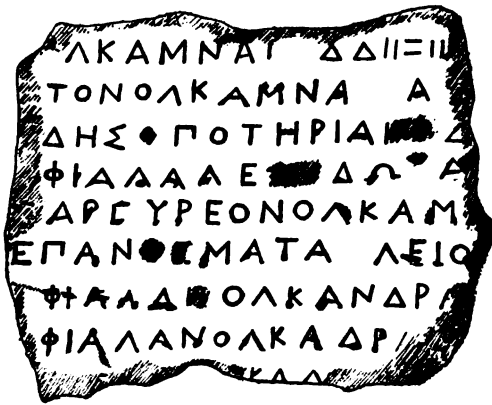
Inscribed on a much broken block of stone measuring 2 ft. 3 in. by 2 ft. by 1 ft. 3 in. (height). Found on the upper terrace just south of the remains of the earlier temple. The stone still remains near the spot where it was found.

Α Ι Ι Α Μ Ι  
 Ἄ ρ τ ά μ ι

For the form see Foucart in Le Bas, *Explicat.*, No. 109a. The inscription there published reads Πρωτίων Ἀρτάμι, and is now in the museum at Argos. Foucart compares the forms Σαράπι, Ἴσι, Ἀνούβι (*cf.* *Mittheil.*, iv, p. 148, No. 508; *Dialekt-Inschr.*, 3288).

## VIII.

The spot where this inscription was found is not definitely indicated in the excavators' notes. It is described as having come to light "on the surface of the south side." The stone measures 5 in. by 6 in., and is broken on all sides. The letters are not deeply cut and the squeeze is difficult to read. The height of the letters is about .3 in. The stone is in the museum at Argos.



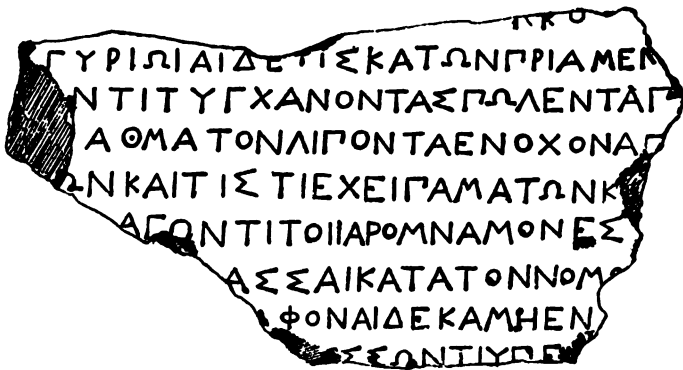
ὀ]λκὰ μναὶ ΔΔ||=||  
 ... τον ὀλκὰ μνᾱ    α ...  
 ... δης ποτήρια κ (?) . δ ...  
 φιάλα λε[ία] δω . α ...  
 ἀργύρεον ὀλκὰ μ[ναὶ] (?)  
 ἐπανθέματα λείο .  
 φιάλαν ὀλκὰν δρα[χμαί] (?)  
 φιάλαν ὀλκὰ δρα[χμαί] (?)  
 ὀλ]κὰ δ[ραχμαί] (?)

The fragment is evidently part of an inventory of valuable objects which were stored in the temple or in some other building of the sanctuary. In line 1 the value of some object seems to be 22 minae, and perhaps 20 drachmas 2 obols; that is, if we may understand — = 10 dr. and | = 1 obol, as in the inscription which relates to the construction of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus. Lines 7 and 8, however, show that the word drachma was given in full, at any rate in the case of lesser values. The space preceding the A which stands at the end of line 2 shows no trace of any letter. It would seem, then, as if the value indicated were a single mina, unless A may possibly be taken as a numeral. It is so used apparently in line 106 of the architectural inscription of the temple at Epidaurus already referred to; but, so far as I know, the letter has never been interpreted there, and it is of no help in understanding the present inscription. The A rather suggests *ἀνέθηκε* or *ἀνάθημα* in this place (*cf.* the records of the temple of Apollo at Delos *passim*, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, 367). The termination *-δης* looks like the ending of a dedicator's name, but unfortunately there is no means of determining how much has been broken off at the beginning or ending of the lines. In line 3 we should expect a word expressing an attribute of *ποτήρια* (*e. g.*, *κέδρινα*, which, however, is hardly possible), but I can make no suggestion that is worth anything. In line 4, after *λεία*, the beginnings of a proper name seem possible. In line 6 the compound *ἐπανθέματα* is, so far as I know, new, if we are to take it as signifying dedicated offerings.

The use of the accusative *φιάλαν* in lines 6 and 7 has a parallel in lines 68 ff. of the records of the temple at Delos.

IX.

An irregular fragment, broken on all sides, measuring 1 ft. by 6 in. Height of letters about .4 in. The stone is in the museum at Argos. No note as to the exact spot where this inscription was found has been given me.



... νκο ...

ἀρ]γυρίῃ· αἱ δὲ τίς κα τῶν πριαμέν[ων  
 ... ντι τυγχάνοντας πωλὲν τὰ π ...  
 στ]αθμὰ τὸν λιπόντα ἔνοχον ἀπ[οτίσαι  
 ... ων καὶ τίς τι ἔχει παμάτων κ ...  
 ἄγωντι τοὶ ἱερομνάμονες  
 δίκ]ασσαι κατὰ τὸν νόμο[ν ο ...  
 ἀδε]λφόν· αἱ δὲ κα μὴ ἐν ...  
 δικά]σσωντι ὑπέ[ρ

Enough is left of this document to make the conjecture probable that it is a portion of a record of certain specifications touching the sale or lease of some piece of property. Line 6 suggests that we may have to do with an Amphictyonic decree not unlike that published in *CIG.* 1688 = *CIA.* II, I. 545. The restoration *δικασσαι*, in line 7, was suggested by Professor F. D. Allen. That in line 9 seems to follow from it. Noteworthy is the uncommon word *παμάτων* in line 5. We have *τάππάματα* (*τὰ ἐππάματα*) in



*Dialekt-Inschrift.*, 488, lines 163–175. Compare ἔππασις (Index to *Dialekt-Inschrift.*, Boötien), and the interesting compound παματοφαγείσται (*IAG.* 321, lines 42, 45 = *Dialekt-Inschrift.*, 1478), also the Homeric πολυπάμων and Hesychius's ἐμπάμων. The simple word πᾶμα has a rare literary use. (See the Thesaurus, s. v.)

X.

Inscribed on an irregularly broken fragment found just above the eastern wall of the West Building. The stone measures about 1 ft. 5 in. in height, 1 ft. 1 in. in width at the widest part, and 7 in. in thickness. The top, which is roughly hewn, has two small holes in it, 2 in. by 2 in., and 1 in. in depth. Except at the top the stone is broken off on all sides. It is in the guard's hut at the Heraeum. The letters are from .6 to .8 in. in height.



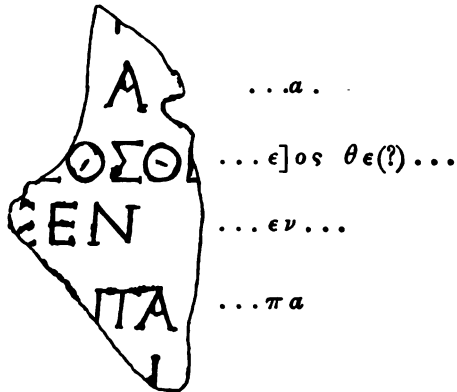
... α Φιλιστίδα  
 ... ο(?) κόσμος ο(οι ω) ..  
 το]υ ἔτεος α ...  
 τ]ῆς Φιλισ[τίδος  
 ἀδ]ελφός  
 ... αι επ(?) ...  
 ... ε(?) ...

The small holes make one think of a dedicatory offering by Philistis or her brother, but it is useless to speculate in detail about the inscription.

XI.

Inscribed on a very much broken fragment measuring roughly 9 in. by 5.4 in. The letters are about .9 in. in height. The stone is in the museum at Argos. In line 2 the fourth letter is very likely, though not quite certainly, *theta*; and indeed the

second letter of the line, so far as form goes, might be the same. In line 4 perhaps we should read *ιτα* instead of *πα*.



J. R. WHEELER.

## INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE ARGIVE HERAEUM.

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### XII.

This inscription holds the first place in importance among all the inscriptions on stone hitherto found at the Heraeum, both because it is undoubtedly the oldest and because it is so preserved that it may be read entirely. It is cut in a massive block of limestone which formed the upper part of the *stèle*, the shape of which is so peculiar that a cut of it is here given. Its

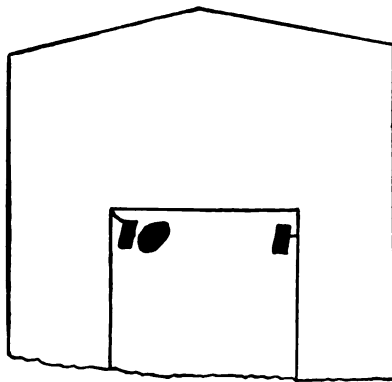


FIG. 1.—STELE FROM THE ARGIVE HERAEUM.

dimensions are: thickness, .28 m.; height, from apex to the break at the bottom, .44 m.; height at right side, .37 m.; at left, .34 m.; breadth, .39 m. Below the inscription there is a rec-

tangular depression .22 m. wide and .005 m. deep. The letters vary in height from .012 m. to .02 m. There is great irregularity in the spacing of the letters as well as in the direction of the lines, where the irregularity seems almost affected. For example lines 4 and 6 turn and run down the edge of the *stèle* at right angles to the direction of the rest of the inscription, apparently not from the desire to avoid breaking a word, for this was surely done at the end of line 2, if not at the end of line 1.

The stone was brought to the Central Museum from Argos in the winter of 1893-94 with several others mentioned by Professor Wheeler as lying at Argos. Whether it was found in the excavations of 1892 or of 1893 I am not able at present to ascertain, but as it was apparently not seen by Professor Wheeler, I infer that it was found at the close of the work in 1893, after he had made up his inventory. I am also uninformed as to the exact spot of its discovery.

ΑΣΤΙ...ΡΑ:ΚΑΙΒΟΓΕΓΑΜΟ  
 ΑΡΑ Α< = ΡΑΣ:ΤΑΣΑΡΛΦ  
 ΑΞ:ΙΑΡΟΜΙ ΑΜΘΝΕΣ:ΤΟΙΔ-  
 ΤΥΡΓΑΛΙΟΝ:ΔΥΜΑΝΕΣ:ΑΦΡΕ  
 ΤΥΓΜΕΝΕΣ:ΘΥΗΕΝΕΣ  
 ΡΙΣΤΟΔΙΜΟΣ:ΘΥΡΝΑΘ  
 ΑΜΕΙΥ ΞΣ:ΓΑΝΘΥΤ  
 ΑΣ

ἀστάλα : καὶ ὁ τελαμὼ  
 ἔ]αρά [τ]ᾶς [ῥ]Ἡ]ρας : τᾶς Ἄργε  
 [ί]ας : ἰαρομνάμονες : τοῖδε  
 Ἐργαλίων : Δύμης ... ἀφρήτευε  
 Ἄλκαμένης : Ἐλλεύς  
 Ἄριστόδαμος : Ἐρνάθιος  
 Ἄμφικ[οιτ]ος : Πανφύλ  
 as

The surface of the stone is slightly chipped at both edges. Room is found in this battered space for Θ at the beginning of line 1, but at the end there is no room for the Ν which might be

expected. Neither can this N find a place at the beginning of line 2, where there is only room for I. The rough breathing,  $\Theta$  was apparently not used before *ιαρός* as is seen by the clear case of *ιαρομνάμονες*, line 3.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of line 3, I must have been crowded in, since the diphthong is used in the very oldest inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> In line 4 the first letter may be Π, as all traces of horizontal lines, except of the top one, are doubtful. The fourth letter is almost certainly F, as the surface is smooth where the right-hand limb of a Π would naturally appear.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, if such a limb had the length which it has in *Παυφύλας*, line 7, it would have run into the A immediately below it. *Πυρφαλών* is a not unattractive conjecture, as a diminutive from *Πυραλός*, a kind of bird, which in Hesychius is written *Πυρραλός*, where the second rho seems to point to an original *digamma*. Neither *Ἐρφαλίαν* nor *Πυρραλίων* appears to be known.

In line 7, *Ἄμφικ[ριτ]ος* would be a natural suggestion, but there seem to be reasonably clear traces of an *omicron*, as well as of the other two letters which have been included in brackets.

There are many interesting peculiarities of form in the letters of the inscription. The most striking is the second *omicron* of *ιαρομνάμονες*, line 3.<sup>4</sup> It is evident at a glance that even apart from this *omicron*, which is probably an accident, we have an inscription venerable for its antiquity.  $E=\eta$ ,  $o=\omega$ ,  $\iota=\lambda$ , indeed run on in Argos to the end of the 5th century. But we find besides these usages  $\Delta=\delta$ ,  $R=\rho$ ,  $V=v$ ,  $\Phi=\phi$ ,  $\Theta$ =rough breathing, the *digamma*, and perhaps, more important than all these, the punctuation of the words with three dots in perpendicular

<sup>1</sup> For *ιαρός* as a *ψιλόν* in Doric, see AHRENS, *Dial. Dor.* § 4. 3.

<sup>2</sup> RÖHL. *IGA.* 33, 42.

<sup>3</sup> The only other possibility, since *gamma* has the form  $\Lambda$ , line 2.

<sup>4</sup> This would pass without question for a simple error of the stonemason, but for the fact that an inscription connected with the frieze of the treasury of the Cnidians at Delphi, which probably belongs to the 6th century B. C., has three *omicrons*, all crossed in the same way. M. Homolle, who had already pronounced in favor of an Argive artist for this frieze on the ground of the Argive *lambda* in the inscription, was inclined to see in this crossed *omicron* of our inscription a corroboration of his view. But since a careful scrutiny of all the other *omicrons* of our inscription fails to discover any cross marks, the interpretation of this one case as the survival of an Argive peculiarity seems precarious.

lines.<sup>5</sup> It may be added that M and N show very oblique lines in place of the later perpendicular ones. In the former letter the middle lines in several cases fail to meet at the bottom. *Alpha* also, which in the main looks tolerably late, has in one or two cases the cross bar quite far from horizontal. Forms like Δύμανς<sup>6</sup>, also, and Πανφύλας<sup>7</sup> look old. In view of all these features it would seem rash to put our inscription much, if any, later than 500 B. C.

The dialect is Argive Doric, pure and simple. The names Alkamenes and Aristodamos have also a good Doric ring to them.

The contents of the inscription is a list of four Hieromnemons, one from each tribe, the name of which is appended. Ἱερομνήμονες was the usual name for the board having charge of temple affairs, not merely at Delphi, where the usage is perhaps best known, but in many other places as well. For the Heraeum it is seen also in No. XVI and in Wheeler's article, Nos. IV and IX. The inscription is interesting as affording the earliest mention of the names of the four Doric tribes. These are sufficiently well attested in later times for Argos and for various Doric communities connected with Argos.<sup>8</sup> The editors of the inscription in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, vol. IX, p. 350 remark: "Jusqu' ici les inscriptions du Péloponnèse qui donnaient les noms des tribus argiennes dataient toutes de l' époque impériale; il y a quelque intérêt à les retrouver dans un document qui remonte, selon toute vraisemblance au III<sup>m</sup>e siècle avant notre

<sup>5</sup> We have become accustomed to find this method of punctuation in some of our very oldest pieces which are best known, e. g. RÖHL, *CIA*. Nos. 5, 37, 41, 42 (these last three from Argos), 68, 119 (Olympia bronze), 321, 322 (Galaxidhi bronzes).

<sup>6</sup> AHRENS, *Dial. Dor.* § 14 puts this retention of the combination ς as a peculiarity of Argos and Crete. Τῖρυνς is a case in which it has survived to the present time (cf. KÜHNER-BLASS, *Grammatik*, I, p. 257).

<sup>7</sup> In the Argive inscription given by FOUART in LE BAS, *Péloponnèse*, No. 116<sup>b</sup> ἡ φυλὰ τῶν Παμφυλῶν (Foucart, Παμφύλας !!), we have this form instead of the later form in *os*. Unless all single signs of age in alphabetic forms are illusive our inscription must be at the very least a half a century earlier than the one published by LE BAS, *Voyage Archéologique*, II, 3<sup>1</sup>, No. 1, and put by him in 417 B. C. Of this we shall speak later.

<sup>8</sup> GILBERT, *Griech. Staatsalter.*, II, p. 77, and the references there given. Also *BCH*. IX, p. 360; v, p. 217 (Kos); VIII, p. 29 (Kalymnos).

ère." But our inscription is at least two centuries older than the one in question.

The Hyrnethians are not so frequently mentioned as the other three tribes, and are regarded as a later addition to these original three tribes,<sup>9</sup> the name indicating perhaps an incorporation of a non-Doric element<sup>10</sup> into the community, a fact which was concealed under the myth of Hyrnetho, the daughter of Temenos, marrying Deiphontes. But the addition of the Hyrnethians cannot have been very late, for our inscription shows them in such good and regular standing that they are not even relegated to the last place in the catalogue, as is the case in the inscription just mentioned.

To the name of the Hieromnemon who is mentioned first is appended the word *ἀφρήτευε*. By good fortune this very word without the *digamma* is preserved in Le Bas, *Voyage Archéologique*, No. 1, of the inscriptions from Asia Minor (*SGD.*) 3277<sup>11</sup>. The passage runs as follows: *ἀρήτευε Λέων βωλᾶς σευτέρας*. Le Bas translates: "était prêtre du second senat," and adds the following comment: '*Ἀρήτευε*, qui, bien qu'il manque dans tous les lexiques, se deduit très-bien du même radical qu' *ἀρητήρ* et *ἀρήτειρα*, regardés tous deux jusqu' ici comme exclusivement usités dans le dialecte ionien.'" <sup>12</sup>

In an inscription of the Hellenistic period from Mycenae, published by Tsountas in the '*Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, 1887, p. 156, lines 4 and 5, are given *ἀρίστευε δαμοργῶν Δελφίων*. The face of the stone is very much defaced so that certainty is hardly attainable, but Tsountas is now convinced that the real reading is not

<sup>9</sup> STEPH. BYZ. s. v. *Δυμῶν*: — *φυλὴ Δωριέων . ἦσαν δὲ τρεῖς Ἰλλεῖς καὶ Πάμφυλοι καὶ Δυμᾶνες ἐξ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ προσετέθη ἡ Ἰρνηθία ὡς Ἐφορος ἔειπε*. It is worth noting that in the inscription given in KABBADIAS, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, No. 234, of the latter part of the 3d century, in a list of 151 Megarian names, only Hylleis, Pamphyloi and Dymanes appear. Perhaps the Hyrnethioi had not been added in Megara. The old triple division appears in HEROD. v. 68. Some would find it also in *Δωριεὺς τριχάκεις*, HOM. *Od.* XI, 177.

<sup>10</sup> ROSCHER, *Lex. Myth.*, p. 982.

<sup>11</sup> This inscription from Smyrna, which records a favorable verdict of the Argives for the Kimolians in an arbitration between them and the Melians, must have been transported from Kimolos by some ship carrying Kimolian earth to Smyrna. See LE BAS, *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Voyage Arch.*, II, 3<sup>e</sup>, p. 6.

ἀρίστει but ἀρήτει. The *eta* is to be sure in this case very broad. Dr. A. Wilhelm, who decides that this alone can be the reading, reinforces it by the consideration that in the prescript of another edict published with this one, we have ἀρητ, which can only be restored as ἀρήτει.

In all these cases one might be tempted to connect the word with the stem *φρε*,<sup>13</sup> and make it designate the "speaker," or in other words the chairman of a board. We may then think of Hyralion as the president of the board of Hieromnemons.

The word *τελαμών* or *τελαμώ*, line 1, is difficult of explanation. We have come to associate the word with Caryatids and Atlantes, but it is almost certain that this association will not hold here. We shall probably come to the proper explanation by taking as our starting point an inscription from Varna (*CIG.* II, 2056), at the end of which the following provision is made: τὸν δὲ ἱεροποιὸν ἀναγράφαι τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο εἰς τελαμῶνα, καὶ θεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. With this may be associated another from Mesambria (*CIG.* 2053<sup>b</sup>), which closes with a like provision: τὸν δὲ ταμίαν ἀναγράφαντα τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο εἰς τελαμῶνα λευκοῦ λίθου ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. One can hardly hesitate to say that *τελαμών* here appears to be the equivalent in Thrace for *στήλη* in Attica, where the latter word occurs constantly in the phrase prescribing the setting up of inscriptions, a phrase which except for this difference is exactly the same as in the two inscriptions cited. But our inscription mentions *στήλη* and *τελαμών* as two separate things, so that we have not yet arrived at a complete explanation. The case seems at first sight to be complicated somewhat by a third inscription from the same region as the first, and now preserved in the Museum at Odessa (*CIG.* 2056<sup>d</sup>), where the phrase is: [ἀναγράφαι εἰς στήλην λευκοῦ λίθου [καὶ] ἀνα[θεῖναι αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τελα]μῶνος. The inscription then proceeds to speak of [τὸ ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν] ἀνάθεσιν τοῦ τελαμῶνος.<sup>14</sup> It is this inscription which leads us to the light. *Τελαμών* is restored to its function as a support in a way which fits our inscription very well. In regions where marble was scarce one may well suppose that an inscribed marble *stèle* might be inserted into a larger

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *φράτρα*, ROEHL, *IGA.* Nos. 110, 112.

<sup>14</sup> There seems to be no reasonable doubt that the readings given are the correct ones, although much depends on restoration.



local stone, which might then not inaptly be called a *τελαμών*. It must be conceded that *CIG.* 2053<sup>b</sup>, where the *τελαμών* itself is of marble, affords difficulty. But it may be that even with the *origin* of the word *τελαμών* as here proposed, the two words come to be used in some quarters interchangeably.

It will be seen by the cut, p. 42, that something was inserted into our massive block. There are dowel-holes on the right and left at the top of the rectangular depression to which probably two others at the bottom, now broken off, corresponded. The one at the left measures .07 m.  $\times$  .02 m., the one at the right .06 m.  $\times$  .02 m.; both about .03 m. deep. These probably served to receive metallic dowels, inasmuch as they are provided with little channels for pouring in the lead when the inserted object was *in situ*, the channel on the left running obliquely to the upper corner of the depression, and that at the right running horizontally to the edge of the depression. Besides the dowel-holes there is an equally deep irregularly round hole about .12 m.  $\times$  .07 m., which may also have served to hold some strengthening dowel. That the insertion was original, and not connected with some subsequent use of the block, is proved by the fact that the lines of the inscription are shaped with regard to it, coming in around it to the right and to the left. The object inserted cannot have been a statue, nor a *stèle* to which this block served as a horizontal base, for in that case this inscription would have been hidden from view, except to one standing so as to read it sideways or bottom upwards. Probably we have the *τελαμών* into which was inserted a *stèle* either of marble or bronze with an inscription of greater length and importance than the one which we have here. This served merely as a bill-head to the real contents of the inscription. It should be noted that at Argos marble was not at hand, and that most of the inscriptions found there, including all here given except No. XVII, were cut in the local limestone which was a most unsatisfactory material. The veins of the stone and the cracks which come with age reduce one who will now read them to absolute despair.<sup>15</sup> In this case even at a very early date a good piece of marble may have been imported for an important inscription.

<sup>15</sup> No. XVI is a good example of this difficulty of reading, although the surface is not badly broken.

## XIII.

Found in the West Building, close to the wall at the s. w. corner, April 2, 1894. The stone is irregularly broken with an inscribed surface about .31 m. × .12 m., and is about .12 m. thick. The letters are .005 m.—.007 m. high, very regular, and remarkably well preserved. They have no ornamentation except that the strokes are generally broadened a little at the end. The inscription may belong to the third century, but probably to the fourth, and is a fine example of careful cutting.<sup>16</sup>

- 1 Ω Φ Ε Λ Ι Ω  
 Ξ Ω Κ Ρ Α Τ  
 Ξ Ω Κ Ρ Α Τ  
 Τ Ε Λ Λ Ε Α Λ
- 5 Α Ν Θ Ι Δ Α Δ Ο  
 Ξ Ω Τ Η Ρ Ι Δ Α Ι  
 Ξ Υ Ν Ε Τ Α Ν Γ Ο Ι  
 ᾿ Ω Ι Β Ι Ο Ν Ξ Ω Κ Ρ Α  
 Α Φ Ρ Ο Δ Ι Τ Ι Α Ν Δ Α Μ
- 10 Μ Ι Κ Υ Λ Ι Ω Ν Α Ξ Ω Γ Α Γ  
 Μ Ο Ξ Χ Ι Ω Ν Α Α Ρ Χ Ε Κ Ρ  
 Π Ι Ξ Τ Α Ν Φ Ι Λ Ω Τ Ι Ξ Ρ Ο  
 Ξ Ω Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε Ι Α Ν Φ Ι Λ Ω Τ Ι  
 Γ Α Θ Ω Ν Α Ν Α Υ Α Ρ Χ Ο Ξ
- 15 . . . Μ Ο Ξ Θ Ε Ν Ε Ι Α Ν Ν Ι Κ Ο Ι  
 . . . ᾿ Τ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε Ι Α Ν Ε Π Ι Κ Ρ Α  
 . . . Ο Ν Θ Ε Ρ Ξ Ι Ω Ν Δ Α Ι Φ Ο  
 . . . Ν Α Ν Φ Ι Λ Ο Κ Ρ Α Τ Ε Ι Α Π Α /  
 . . . Α Ν Ε Π Ι Κ Λ Η Ξ Δ Ι Φ Ω Ν Υ Ξ
- 20 . . . . . Δ Α Μ Ο Ξ Θ Ε Ν Η Ξ Δ Ι Φ Ω Ν  
 Ξ Υ Ρ Α Γ Α Ι Ο Ν Ι Ξ  
 . . . . . Ν Α Ρ Ι Ξ Τ Ο Γ Ο Ι Ξ Κ Ε  
 . . . . . Κ Ε Τ Ο Ξ Κ Λ Ε Ι Ο Λ Ι Ξ  
 . . . . . Ξ Α Ν Α
- 25 . . . . . Ι Λ ᾿

<sup>16</sup> Yet the first *alpha* in *Nabarchos*, line 14, has no cross-bar which makes the words look like *Ἀγαθῶναν Δάραχος*, an impossible combination. The first *epsilon* in *Δαμοσθένειαν* in the next line also lacks the middle stroke.

- 1 Ὀφελίω[να  
 Σωκράτ[ειαν  
 Σωκράτ[ειαν  
 Τελλέα Λ
- 5 Ἀνθίδα Δο  
 Σωτηρίδα Ι  
 Συνέταν Γοι  
 Σφύβιον Σωκρά[τεια  
 Ἄφροδιτίαν Δαμ[οκράτεια
- 10 Μικυλίωνα Σωπα[τρὶς  
 Μοσχίωνα Ἀρχεκ[ράτεια  
 Πίσταν Φιλῶτις Πο  
 Σωκράτειαν Φιλῶτι[ς  
 [Α]γαθῶνα Ναύαρχος
- 15 Δα]μοσθένειαν Νικομ[άχη  
 Ἀρι]στοκράτειαν Ἐπικρά[τεια  
 . . . . ον Θερσίων Δαῖφό[ντης  
 . . . . ναν Φιλοκράτεια Παλ  
 . . . . αν Ἐπικλῆς Διφωνο[σίαν
- 20 . . . . . Δαμοσθένης Διφων[υσίαν  
 . . . . . Σύρα Παιονίς  
 . . . . . ν Ἀριστόπολις Κε  
 . . . . . κετος Κλε[όπ]ολις  
 . . . . . σαν Ἀ
- 25 . . . . . ιλυ

We have here simply a list of names, some in the nominative and some in the accusative. On the left where the original edge of the stone is preserved we seem to have an accusative at the beginning of each line. The first case in which we get two consecutive names, line 12, the second name is in the nominative. In line 14 it is the same, and so on apparently to the end. We do not find an opportunity to test whether the third name is an accusative, thus making a regular alternation until we reach line 21. This line, however, is peculiar in having a little blank space each side of the preserved letters. It is possible that before Σύρα an accusative stood, separated by an interval slightly larger than usual. Παιονίς (which has a space after it for more than two let-

ters) is doubtless an epithet of *Σύρα*, and so does not break the alternation. Line 23 is the only one which seems to do this, since *-κετος* is probably the ending of a name in the nominative; and *Κλεόπολις* which follows seems to be a second name in the nominative. It is also difficult to get a name short enough to precede *]κετος*, supposing this were the ending of an accusative, when only seven letters in all are lacking.

The inscription may be a record of emancipation of slaves, with the slaves' names in the accusative and the owners' names in the nominative. In such documents, at Delphi and elsewhere, women's names generally outnumber men's names by more than two to one.<sup>17</sup> In this list the proportion of women's names is even larger.

While some of the names are unusual, none of them are strange enough to be remarkable. *᾽Οφελίων* is interesting as occurring again in different shape in No. XIV. It is perhaps a favorite in Argolis, as it appears in *SGD.* 3269, 3341, 3401.

The persistence of the *digamma* in *Διφωνσ*, which occurs twice, and the Doric ending *a* for the first declension names, show some retention of old style, and caution us against assigning too late a date to the inscription.

#### XIV.

Found towards the close of the excavations of 1894, with no exact record as to the spot. Of irregular shape, about .40 m. long and .19 m. broad, .08 m. thick. Letters of the same size as those of No. XIII, .005 m.—.007 m. and almost of the same form.<sup>18</sup> The surface is so badly worn away that but little can be made of the inscription, and that little only on the left side.

Only a few proper names result from the most careful scrutiny, hardly enough to make it profitable to add a transcription in small letters. Since the differences between the letters of this inscription and those of No. XIII were at first hardly discernible, and since this stone had no original edge preserved, it seemed as if it might belong to the same inscription. The

<sup>17</sup> SMITH, *Dict. of Antiq.*, II, 61<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> M is somewhat broader with the upright bars more perpendicular. O is somewhat smaller.

- 1           ΝΑΞ ΜΙΑΙΛ  
            ΟΝΟΞ ΛΥ...ΟΞ  
            Α ΑΡΧΕΜΑΧ  
Α ΦΙΛΕΙΑ Δ                           ΦΙΛ  
5           ΑΡΙΞΤΟΠΟΛΙΞ ΝΑΥΓΛΙΑ  
Α ΛΑΚΩ ΛΥ Α                           ΤΟΛ  
            ΑΑΙΡΙ  
            ΑΤΗ  
            Ξ  
10           ΡΑΤ                           ΕΥΞ  
            ΑΦΑΗΞ Ε  
            ΞΩΞΤΡΑ  
            ΧΑΡΙΤΑ . ΑΡΙ  
            ΛΥΞΙΞ  
15           ΑΓΑΘΩ  
            ΚΛΗΓΟΡΑ Γ  
            ΧΙΓΓΑΓ  
            ΚΛΕΙΔΑΟΚΛ  
            ΠΠΟΞ ΚΛΕΟ  
20           ΟΝΟΦΕΙΛΛ  
            ΨΗΞ ΚΛΕΟ...ΛΙΔΑ  
            ΑΓΓΙΜ...ΑΜΥ  
Ν ΑΡΑΧΝΑΞ  
1           νας Μιαι  
            ωνος Λύ[αρχ]ος  
            α 'Αρχεμάχ[α  
            α Φιλέα Δ                           Φιλ  
5           'Αριστόπολις Ναυπλία  
            α Λακώ Λυ...α...α...α...τολ  
            α Αίρι  
            ατη  
            σ  
10           ρατ                           ευσ  
            αφαης 'Ε  
            Σωστράτ[α  
            Χάριτα 'Αρι[στόπολις  
            Λυσις[τράτα

- 15           'Αγάθω[ν  
              Κληγόρα Π  
              'Αρ]χίππα  
                  κλείδα 'Οκλ  
              "Αρχι]ππος Κλεσ[πολις  
20           ον 'Οφελλ[ίων  
              νης Κλεσ[πο]λίδα  
              αιπειμ . . . 'Αμυ[κλαίος  
              ν 'Αράχνας

thickness of the stone would not be an insuperable objection, as both fragments are extremely uneven at the back. Furthermore while most of the names which can be made out with certainty are in the nominative, we have *Χάριτα* in line 13 and an accusative ending apparently at the beginning of line 20. Even the two consecutive nominatives in line 5, which may be regarded as certain, although this is one of the most worn places of the stone, are paralleled in No. XIII as we have seen. Some of the names are also the same, as *'Αριστόπολις* (5), *'Αγάθων* (15), perhaps *Κλέσπολις* (19, 21), and in different form *'Οφελλών* (20).

But even the slight differences in the letters mentioned above taken together with the different thickness of the stones make it safer to treat the two pieces as belonging to different inscriptions.

We seem to have genitives also in this inscription as —*ωνος* (2) *'Αράχνας* (23) *]κλείδα* (18). Of these, however, only the last seems reasonably certain, as the first may be —*ωνος*, a nominative ending, and in 23 we may have *'Αράχνα* followed by a name beginning with Σ.

Line 22 which shows several letters at the beginning hard to combine into any proper name may contain something else than names, but this is doubtful. After this line there is space for another, which was left blank.

## XV.

A small irregular piece .07 m. from top to bottom, .18 m. wide, of about the same thickness as No. XIV. The letters also are identical, so that in spite of different weathering<sup>19</sup> it is not

<sup>19</sup> This piece is so reddened that it seems at some time to have been exposed to fire.

unlikely that it formed a part of the same inscription. It was found at the close of the work in 1894. A small piece of the surface at the right, about .04 m. square, is now detached. But the two fragments fit so perfectly that there is no doubt that they belong together.

	Κ Ε Ι
Ι Κ Ι Ο Ν Α Ρ Ι . . . . .	: Μ Α Χ
Φ Ι Λ Ω Ν Ι Δ Α Ν Φ Ι . . . . .	' Ο
Π Ι Ξ Τ Α Ν Α Ν Θ Ι Π	
Ρ Υ Ξ Ι Π Π Ο Ν Ξ Ο	
Ν	

κει

Φυλ]άκιον Ἀρι[στώ Ἀρχ]εμάχ[ου  
 Φιλωνίδαυ Φιλ[ωτίς] Χο  
 Πίσταν Ἀνθίπ[που  
 Χ]ρύσιππον Σω

Ἀρχεμάχου in line 2 is suggested by the same name in XIV. 3, although the space is rather scanty for so many letters. The two compounds in ἵππος are matched by the two in XIV. 17, 19. Πίσταν occurs in XIII. 12.

## XVI.

Brought with others from Argos to the Central Museum at Athens in the winter of 1893-94, with no notice concerning the exact spot of finding. This was to have been Wheeler's No. XII. The stone is very streaked limestone, .11 m. thick, irregularly broken. The greatest length of inscribed surface from top to bottom, .30 m.; greatest breadth, .23 m. It is not finished off evenly at the top, where the heading shows that we have the original edge. The letters are .01 m. high. A remarkable feature is that in the top line where the stone is chipped off the letters are cut down into the breaks along the edge.

1                    Μ Ν Α Μ Ο Ν Ξ Η Ρ Α Ξ Ο Ι Ε Ι  
 Α Ρ Ι Ξ Τ Ο Κ Ρ Α Θ Η Ξ Τ Ι Μ Α Γ Ο Ρ Ο Υ  
 Τ Ε Ο Ξ Τ Η Μ Ε Ν Ι Δ Α Ξ  
 Γ Υ Ε Υ Ξ Α Ν Τ Α Ξ Ε Ι Ξ Α Υ Τ Ο Υ Ξ

5 ΑΡΚΕΙΔΑ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  ΜΑ  
 ΛΑΡΑΒΟΥ ΑΝΔΡ $\overline{\text{IK}}$ ΟΣ  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  ΦΑΗΝ $\overline{\text{HN}}$   
 ΞΙΑΣ  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  ΦΑΗΝΑΣ ΔΑΜΟΙΤΑ  
 ΕΑΙΣΧΡΩΝΟΣ ΠΩΛΑΘΕΕΣ  
 ΑΡΧΙΔΟΣ ΑΕ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΑ  
 10 ΤΟΣ ΝΑΥΠΛΙΑ ΑΑ ΑΡΜΟΝ  
 ΝΑΣ ΥΑΔΑΙ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΩ  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  Κ  
 ΝΙΚΗ  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  ΚΛΕΥΚΡΑΤΕΟΣ  
 ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΑΣ ΣΜΙΡΕΙΔΑ  
 $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΑΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΑ  
 15 ΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΣ ΕΝΑΡΓΕΙ Ν  
 ΞΕΝΑΣ ΚΕΡΚΑΔΑΙ ΘΙΟ  
 ΙΟΚΛΑ ΑΡΙΣΤΩ  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  ΣΩ  
 ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΩΝ  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  ΘΙΟΦΑΝ  
 ΡΙΤΥΛΛΑΣ ΛΥΚΟΦΡ  
 20 ΡΑΤΕΟΣ ΝΑΥΠΛΙΩ  
 . . . ΔΙΩΝΥΣΙΟΥ Κ  
 . . . ΕΙΑΣ ΔΙΩΔΩΡ

1 Ἱερο]μνάμονες Ἦρας οἱ ἐπ  
 Ἀριστοκράτης Τιμαγόρου  
 τεος Τημενίδας

[ἐγ

5 Ἀρκείδα Ἐρμογένης  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  Μα  
 Λαράβου Ἀνδρικός  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  Φαήν[ας  
 σίας  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  Φαήνας Δαμοιτά[δης  
 ε Αἰσχρωνος Πωλάθεις

10 Ἀρχίδος ΑΕ Ἀντιπάτρα  
 τος Ναυπλία ΑΑ Ἀρμον[ία  
 νας Ἰάδαι Φιλιστώ  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  Κ  
 νικη  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  Κλευκράτεος  
 Φιλονίκας Σμυρείδα

15 Ἀγάθωνος ἐν Ἀργεῖ Ν  
 ξένας Κερκάδαι Θιο  
 μόκλα Ἀριστώ  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  Σω  
 Φιλιστίων  $\overline{\text{IAE}}$  Θιοφαν  
 Κ]ριτύλλας Λυκόφρ[ων

[Δα

20 κ]ράτεος Ναυπλία  
 . . . Διωνυσίου κ  
 . . . είας Διόδωρ[ος

[Κλευ



This inscription appears to have reference to certain persons who had become security to the Hieromnemons for certain other persons who were liable for sums of money. Line 4 gives the clue,<sup>20</sup> the rest is merely a list of names, those of the persons liable in the genitive, those of the guarantors in the nominative. The names of the latter are followed by numeral signs. In line 10 the sign is AA, in all other cases it is ΑΕ.<sup>21</sup> It is not improbable that the former denotes two units of some kind, but what the value of the latter may be I have not been able to ascertain. Several peculiarities in methods of noting sums of money appear in inscriptions from the Argolid,<sup>22</sup> but none of them throw light upon the value of this sign.

The regular order of genitive, nominative, numeral, seems interrupted in 9, where Ἀρχιδος can hardly be anything but a genitive. If we suppose it to be a parent's name added in this one case, it is singular that a person should be designated by the mother's name. Another break in this sequence is made by the enigmatical words Ἰάδαι (11) and Κερκάδαι (16) whether these be nominatives plural or datives singular. The equally puzzling word Πωλάθες (line 8)<sup>23</sup>, makes probably a similar insertion, and so would afford a reason for regarding the others also as nominatives. It is not unlikely that Σμυρεῖδα[ι, line 13, is a similar case. It is striking that these four words which interrupt the order of cases are the only ones which are enigmatical, although Λάραβος, line 6, looks outlandish and Ἀρκείδας, line 5, and some of the other names are unusual. It is in vain that we seek the key to these unexplained words in such sources as the edicts of Diocletian. That the inscription is from Roman times is evident from the occurrence of the epithet Ῥωμαίος, a conclusion to which the forms of the letters alone would hardly have led us, although they certainly

<sup>20</sup> ἔγγυσι, though not given in the lexicons, is contained in WESCHER et FOUCAERT, *Inscr. de Delphes*, 139.

<sup>21</sup> Although in some cases (lines 9, 11, 12, 17) some strokes of the sign are lacking, it was probably intended as the same sign in all cases.

<sup>22</sup> *SGD.* Nos. 3286 (Argos), 3318 (Nemea), 3325 (Epidaurus), 3362 (Troezen) 3384, 3385 (Hermione). See also DITTENBERGER in *Hermes*, vol. VII, pp. 62 ff.

<sup>23</sup> The reading may be ποδάθες, as the second letter looks like an *omicron* changed to an *omega* or vice versa, and the next letter is a possible *delta*. This reading, though dubious, might give a meaning like "swift-foot."

appear to be as late as 200 B. C. A probable conjecture for the words in question is that they are names of certain *gentes* at Argos in Roman times.

XVII.

Two marble fragments, rough at the back, .09 m. thick, both irregularly broken, (a) about .22 m. × .22 m.; (b) about .15 m. × .25 m. (height): letters in both .06 m.—.07 m. in height, and with large apices.

(a).  $\Psi$  A ↓ ∨                      (b).  $\Psi$  Σ Ε  
           T O P O

Whether (a) is properly first in order of succession it is impossible to say, as a reconstruction is not to be made out of such scanty fragments. All we can say is that (a) certainly yields in the second line *Ἀὐτοκρά*]τορο[ς and in the first line perhaps *Ἄν*[τωνίνου. (b) yields *Σε*[βαστόν. It is in itself highly probable that the Heraeum had a period of bloom under Hadrian and the Antonines.

XVIII.

On a fragment of a round base of limestone which must have had a diameter of about 5 feet, with very elaborate moulding. The inscription is on a band .11 m. broad. Above this is a projecting lip now badly shattered, once .03 m. thick and projecting at least .02 m.; below is a concave moulding .01 m. broad, then a convex one, .02 m. broad; then a band .05 m. broad, with a double mæander pattern. The shape of the piece is that of a sector of a circle, the inscribed surface, *i. e.*, the arc, measuring .24 m.

Λ            O            Height of letters, Λ .025 m., O .02 m.

We have the beginning of the inscription since there is a space of .14 m. before the Λ, whereas the letters Λ and O are only .05 m. apart. It is useless to attempt a restoration. The inscription was probably brief, since other pieces lying at the Heraeum have no letters.

XIX.

On a poros block in a wall between the new temple and the West Building. The block has a face 1.22 m. × .32 m. It was uncovered in the Spring of 1895.

Κ Τ Ε Ο Λ Α + ο ≥                      Κλεόμαχος.

The letters are in general .10 m. high, but omicron is excessively small. It is possible that this inscription is older than No. XII. The three-stroke *sigma* alone would carry it back into the neighborhood of 500 B. C.<sup>24</sup> *Kappa* is the most striking letter in form. At first sight one hardly notices that the upright bar projects above and below its junction with the oblique bars, which do not meet each other. Only on closer notice the upright bar is seen to project slightly. The wide gap between the oblique bars might seem to be a Theraean feature, as the inscription from Thera given in Röhl, *IGA.* No. 454 (Roberts, *Introd. to Greek Epig.* No. 4<sup>b</sup>) has a form in this respect almost exactly parallel. But almost the same peculiarity occurs in the Nikandra inscription (Röhl, *IGA.* 407) and in that on the Apollo-base at Delos (Röhl, *IGA.* 409). In fact we have almost a parallel at Argos itself in Röhl, *IGA.* 31.

## XX.

On a limestone tripod-base, found near the north wall of the West Building, with a diameter of .50 m. and a height of .41 m. The top surface shows four dowel-holes, a large square one in the centre, and three smaller rectangular ones for the legs, at distances of .23 m. apart.

Δ Ε Η Η Ι Ι Ο Σ. Δέξιλλος.

Height of letters .03 m.—.035 m. The rounded *delta* throws this inscription also back towards the beginning of the fifth century. But its chief interest lies in the doubling of the *xi*. This is paralleled by the Bœotian Δέξιππος, Röhl, *IGA.* 150, and Δέξιππα, *CIG.* 1608, line 6.<sup>25</sup> The turning of *xi* on its side seems to be an Argive peculiarity.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> It would fall in Roberts' (*Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, p. 117) Second period of Argive inscriptions.

<sup>25</sup> For other cases of gemination see G. MEYER, *Gr. Gram.* § 227.

<sup>26</sup> ROBERTS, *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, No. 77.

ADDITIONAL TO THE STAMPED TILES FROM  
THE HERAEUM.

(From the Excavations of 1894 and 1895.)

I.

Four additional fragments of the Sokles tiles.<sup>1</sup>

- (a)  $\varepsilon \Omega K \wedge H \varepsilon$  .  
 (b)  $\varepsilon \Omega K /$  .  
 (c)  $\varepsilon \Omega K . . \varepsilon A$  .  
 (d)  $\backslash P X I T E K T \Omega N$  .

As these were found in various spots, (a) at the north side of the West Building, (c) and (d) on and near the steps of the East chamber, we still have no clue as to the building on which these large tiles were used.

II.

A small, thin, flat piece, .08 m.  $\times$  .05 m., nothing like the Sokles tiles, yet bearing the letters

$o | o | H$  .

These seem to indicate the same stamp that was applied at the bottom of the Sokles tile which is found entire in the Polytechnikon at Athens, *i. e.*,  $\Delta A M O I O I H P A \Sigma$ .<sup>2</sup> The dimensions of the letters coincide exactly, their height being .015 m., except in the case of the *omicrons*, which are only half as high.

On a piece of tile painted black, with considerable curvature, are the letters  $M O I O I$ . As the stamp is entire at the right end, it did not in this case have  $H P A \Sigma$ . Otherwise the letters are the same.

<sup>1</sup> See paper above, pp. 262 ff. I saw in the Museum at Argos another fragment of the same series, up to that time (April 30, 1895) overlooked. It bore the mark of the American excavators "West Stoa." This yields  $\Omega N$ . In the same museum at the same time I noticed also a tile fragment with the monogram  $\kappa$  for  $\kappa\lambda$ , which has an exact counterpart in a fragment now in the Museum at Athens.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 263.

## III.

A fragment found at the close of the season of 1895, .16 m. × .11 m. The field of the stamp is .10 m. × .05 m. The letters are .02 m. high.

Ε Π Ι Κ Ο Ρ  
Μ Α Κ Ι Α

As the letters agree in size with the  $\begin{matrix} \text{Ε Π} \\ \text{Μ Α} \end{matrix}$  mentioned in the paper above, p. 271, this must be a duplicate of that. We thus have the complete stamp, and are left with a puzzle. We should expect *ἐπί* to be a preposition, and look for a following genitive.<sup>3</sup> But *Κορμακία* can hardly be a name either Greek or Roman.

## IV.

Two fragments of somewhat different dimensions, one .18 m. × .18 m. and another .16 m. × .19 m., one with a raised border .05 m. above the stamp, and the other without it, but both yielding exactly the same letters.

Υ Ο ϐ Ι Ξ Δ = . . — *δείρου*.

The letters are .01 m.—.012 m. high. This is a case of a stamp reversed in which the character ϐ=ρ was not reversed like the other letters.<sup>4</sup>

It is singular that the break should occur in both pieces at exactly the same place, leaving us in doubt whether we have the genitive of *Δείρας* or of some longer name.

## V.

Fragment of absolutely flat tile, .02 m. thick, .26 m. × .25 m., with letters .02 m. high.

Κ Λ Ο Ι Ε Ε Θ Ε Ν Η Ε . Κλοισθένης.

The square *sigmas* cannot belong to a date much before the beginning of the Christian era, and the contamination of *οι* and *ει* would seem to indicate a date much later still. Such a phenomenon in Attica would hardly date before the third century A. D.<sup>5</sup> For a duplicate of this stamp, *cf.* p. 271.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 269.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 270.

<sup>5</sup> MEISTERHANS, *Gram. Att. Insch.* p. 46, § 16, 10.

VI.

But the pearl of the tile-inscriptions from the Heraeum is on the fragment of the upper face of the edge of a huge bowl, which must have had a diameter of about three feet. The fragment was found in 1894 "at the West end of the South Slope, behind the retaining wall of the West Building, mixed up with a quantity of early pottery and figurines."

The letters are not stamped, so as to appear raised as in those hitherto mentioned, but are incised, cut into the clay when it was moist. The inscribed face of the fragment is .22 m. × .06 m. The letters are .03 m. high.

Λ Μ Θ Ε Ρ Α Μ Ε Ι Μ Ι τ]ās "Hpas εἰμλ.

This inscription judging by Α and Ε and above all by Μ=σ must be considerably older than No. XII of the inscriptions on stone. It must date at least as far back as 500 B. C.

While it may belong to a large amphora, it may also be a lustral bowl. It might be the very bowl in which the mad king Kleomenes of Sparta dipped his bloody hands before performing his bootless sacrifice so graphically described by Herodotus (VI. 81 ff).

NOTE.—Professor J. R. WHEELER desires me to call attention to the fact that the name Hybrilas (see paper above, p. 274) is found also in the list of Proxeni, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891, p. 412, line 10 of the inscription, and in BAZIN, *Archiv. de Miss. Scient.* II, 369.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

THE RELATION OF THE ARCHAIC PEDIMENT-  
RELIEFS FROM THE ACROPOLIS TO  
VASE-PAINTING.

[PLATE XXI.]

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From one point of view it is a misfortune in the study of archæology that, with the progress of excavation, fresh discoveries are continually being made. If only the evidence of the facts were all in, the case might be summed up and a final judgment pronounced on points in dispute. As it is, the ablest scholar must feel cautious about expressing a decided opinion; for the whole fabric of his argument may be overturned any day by the unearthing of a fragment of pottery or a sculptured head. Years ago, it was easy to demonstrate the absurdity of any theory of polychrome decoration. The few who dared to believe that the Greek temple was not in every part as white as the original marble subjected themselves to the pitying scorn of their fellows. Only the discoveries of recent years have brought proof too positive to be gainsaid. The process of unlearning and throwing over old and cherished notions is always hard; perhaps it has been especially so in archæology.

The thorough investigation of the soil and rock of the Acropolis lately finished by the Greek Government has brought to light so much that is new and strange that definite explanations and conclusions are still far away. The pediment-reliefs in poros which now occupy the second and third rooms of the Acropolis Museum have already been somewhat fully treated, especially in their architectural bearings. Dr. Brückner of the German Institute

has written a full monograph on the subject,<sup>1</sup> and it has also been fully treated by Lechat in the *Revue Archéologique*.<sup>2</sup> Shorter papers have appeared in the *Mittheilungen* by Studniczka<sup>3</sup> and P. J. Meier.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Waldstein in a recent peripatetic lecture suggested a new point of view in the connection between these reliefs and Greek vase-paintings. It is this suggestion that I have tried to follow out.

The groups in question are too well known to need a detailed description here. The first,<sup>5</sup> in a fairly good state of preservation, represents Hercules in his conflict with the Hydra, and at the left Iolaus, his charioteer, as a spectator. Corresponding to this, is the second group,<sup>6</sup> with Hercules overpowering the Triton; but the whole of this is so damaged that it is scarcely recognizable. Then, there are two larger pediments in much higher relief, the one<sup>7</sup> repeating the scene of Hercules and the Triton, the other<sup>8</sup> representing the three-headed Typhon in conflict, as supposed, with Zeus. All four of these groups have been reconstructed from a great number of fragments. Many more pieces which are to be seen in these two rooms of the Museum surely belonged to the original works, though their relations and position cannot be determined. The circumstances of their discovery between the south supporting-wall of the Parthenon and Cimon's inner Acropolis wall make it certain that we are dealing with pre-Persian art. It is quite as certain, in spite of the fragmentary condition of the remains, that they were pedimental compositions and the earliest of the kind yet known.

The first question which presents itself in the present consideration is: Why should these pedimental groups follow vase-paintings? We might say that in vases we have practically the first products of Greek art; and further we might show resemblances, more or less material, between these archaic reliefs and vase pictures. But the proof of any connection between the two would still be wanting. Here the discoveries made by the Germans at

<sup>1</sup> *Mitth. deutsch. arch. Inst. Athen*, XIV, p. 67; XV, p. 84. <sup>2</sup> *Rev. Arch.*, XVII, p. 304; XVIII, pp. 12, 137. <sup>3</sup> *Mitth. Athen*, XI, p. 61. <sup>4</sup> X, pp. 237, 322. Cf. *Studniczka, Jahrbuch deutsch. arch. Inst.*, I, p. 87; *Purgold, 'Εφημερίς 'Αρχαιολογική*, 1884, p. 147, 1885, p. 284. <sup>5</sup> *Mitth. Athen*, X, cut opposite p. 237; *Εφημερίς*, 1884, πινάξ 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Mitth. Athen*, XI, Taf. II. <sup>7</sup> *Idem*, XV, Taf. II. <sup>8</sup> *Idem*, XIV, Taf. II, III.



Olympia and confirmed by later researches in Sicily and Magna Græcia, are of the utmost importance.<sup>9</sup> In the Byzantine west wall at Olympia were found great numbers of painted terracotta plates<sup>10</sup> which examination proved to have covered the cornices of the Geloan Treasury. They were fastened to the stone by iron nails, the distance between the nail-holes in terracottas and cornice blocks corresponding exactly. The fact that the stone, where covered, was only roughly worked made the connection still more sure. These plates were used on the cornice of the long side, and bounded the pediment space above and below. The corresponding cyma was of the the same material and similarly decorated.

It seems surprising that such a terracotta sheathing should be applied on a structure of stone. For a wooden building, on the other hand, it would be altogether natural. It was possible to protect wooden columns, architraves and triglyphs from the weather by means of a wide cornice. But the cornice itself could not but be exposed, and so this means of protection was devised. Of course no visible proof of all this is at hand in the shape of wooden temples yet remaining. But Dr. Dörpfeld's demonstration<sup>11</sup> removes all possible doubt. Pausanias<sup>12</sup> tells us that in the Heræum at Olympia there was still preserved in his day an old wooden column. Now from the same temple no trace of architrave, triglyph or cornice has been found; a fact that is true of no other building in Olympia and seems to make it certain that here wood never was replaced by stone. When temples came to be built of stone, it seems that this plan of terracotta covering was retained for a time, partly from habit, partly because of its fine decorative effect. But it was soon found that marble was capable of withstanding the wear of weather and that the ornament could be applied to it directly by painting.

<sup>9</sup> I follow closely Dr. Dörpfeld's account and explanation of these discoveries in *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, v, 30 seq. See also *Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste*, Berlin, 1881; *Ueber die Verwendung Terracotten*, by Messrs. DÖRPFELD, GRÄBER, BORRMANN, and SIEBOLD.

<sup>10</sup> Reproduced in *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, v, Taf. xxxiv; BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, Taf. xlv; RAYET et COLLIGNON, *Histoire de la Céramique Grecque*, pl. xv.

<sup>11</sup> *Historische und philologische Aufsätze, Ernst Curtius gewidmet*, Berlin, 1884, p. 187 seq. <sup>12</sup> v, 20. 6.

In order to carry the investigation a step further Messrs. Dörpfeld, Gräber, Borrmann and Siebold undertook a journey to Gela and the neighboring cities of Sicily and Magna Græcia.<sup>13</sup> The results of this journey were most satisfactory. Not only in Gela, but in Syracuse, Selinus, Acræ, Croton, Metapontum and Pæstum, precisely similar terracottas were found to have been employed in the same way. Furthermore just such cyma pieces have been discovered belonging to other structures in Olympia and amid the pre-Persian ruins on the Acropolis of Athens. It is not yet proven that this method of decoration was universal or even widespread in Greece; but of course the fragile nature of terracotta and the fact that it was employed only in the oldest structures, would make discoveries rare.

Another important argument is furnished by the certain use of terracotta plates as acroteria. Pausanias<sup>14</sup> mentions such acroteria on the *Stoa Basileios* on the agora of Athens. Pliny<sup>15</sup> says that such works existed down to his day, and speaks of their great antiquity. Fortunately a notable example has been preserved in the acroterium of the gable of the Heræum at Olympia,<sup>16</sup> a great disk of clay over seven feet in diameter. It forms a part, says Dr. Dörpfeld, of the oldest artistic roof construction that has remained to us from Greek antiquity. That is, the original material of the acroteria was the same used in the whole covering of the roof, namely terracotta. The gargoyles also, which later were always of stone, were originally of terracotta. Further we find reliefs in terracotta pierced with nail-holes and evidently intended for the covering of various wooden objects; sometimes, it is safe to say, for wooden sarcophagi. Here appears clearly the connection that these works may have had with the later reliefs in marble.

To make now a definite application, it is evident that the connection between vase-paintings and painted terracottas must from the nature of the case be a very close one. But when these terracottas are found to reproduce throughout the exact designs and figures of vase-paintings, the line between the two fades away. All the most familiar ornaments of vase technic recur again and

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *supra*, *Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste*. <sup>14</sup> I, 8. 1.

<sup>15</sup> *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv, 158. <sup>16</sup> *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, v, 85 and *Taf. xxxiv*.

again, mæanders, palmettes, lotuses, the scale and lattice-work patterns, the bar-and-tooth ornament, besides spirals of all descriptions. In execution, also, the parallel is quite as close. In the great acroterium of the Heræum, for example, the surface was first covered with a dark varnish-like coating on which the drawing was incised down to the original clay. Then the outlines were filled in black, red and white. Here the bearing becomes clear of an incidental remark of Pausanias in his description of Olympia. He says (v. 10.): *ἐν δὲ Ὀλυμπίᾳ* (of the Zeus temple) *λέβητος ἐπίχρυσος ἐπὶ ἐκάστῳ τοῦ ὀρόφου τῷ πέρατι ἐπίκειται*. That is, originally acroteria were only vases set up at the apex and on the end of the gable. Naturally enough the later terracottas would keep close to the old tradition.

It is interesting also to find relief-work in terracotta as well as painting on a plane surface. An example where color and relief thus unite, which comes from a temple in Cære,<sup>17</sup> might very well have been copied from a vase design. It represents a female face in relief, as occurs so often in Greek pottery, surrounded by an ornament of lotus, mæander and palmette. Such a raised surface is far from unusual; and we seem to find here an intermediate stage between painting and sculpture. The step is indeed a slight one. A terracotta figurine<sup>18</sup> from Tarentum helps to make the connection complete. It is moulded fully in the round, but by way of adornment, in close agreement with the tradition of vase-painting, the head is wreathed with rosettes and crowned by a single palmette. So these smaller covering plates just spoken of, which were devoted to minor uses, recall continually not only the identical manner of representation but the identical scenes of vase paintings,—such favorite subjects, to cite only one example, as the meeting of Agamemnon's children at his tomb.

From this point of view, it does not seem impossible that pedimental groups might have fallen under the influence of vase technic. The whole architectural adornment of the oldest temple was of pottery. It covered the cornice of the sides, completely bounded the pedimental space, above and below, and finally

<sup>17</sup> *Arch. Zeitung*, xxix, 1872, *Taf.* 41; RAYET et COLLIGNON, *Hist. Céram. Grecque*, fig. 143.    <sup>18</sup> *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, *Taf.* 13.

crowned the whole structure in the acroteria. It would surely be strange if the pedimental group, framed in this way by vase designs, were in no way influenced by them. The painted decoration of these terracottas is that of the bounding friezes in vase-pictures. The vase-painter employs them to frame and set off the central scene. Might not the same end have been served by the terracottas on the temple, with reference to the scene within the tympanum? We must remember, also, that at this early time the sculptor's art was in its infancy, while painting and the ceramic art had reached a considerable development. Even if all analogy did not lead the other way, an artist would shrink from trying to fill up a pediment with statues in the round. The most natural method was also the easiest for him.

On the question of the original character of the pedimental group, the Heræum at Olympia, probably the oldest Greek columnar structure known, furnishes important light. Pausanias says nothing whatever of any pedimental figures. Of course his silence does not prove that there were none; but with all the finds of acroteria, terracottas and the like, no trace of any such sculptures was discovered. The inference seems certain that the pedimental decoration, if present at all, was either of wood or of terracotta, or was merely painted on a smooth surface. The weight of authority inclines to the last view. It is held that, if artists had become accustomed to carving pedimental groups in wood, the first examples that we have in stone would not show so great inability to deal with the conditions of pedimental composition. If ever the tympanum was simply painted or filled with a group in terracotta, it is easy to see why the fashion died and why consequently we can bring forward no direct proof to-day. It was simply that only figures in the round can satisfy the requirements of a pedimental composition. The strong shadows thrown by the cornice, the distance from the spectator, and the height, must combine to confuse the lines of a scene painted on a plane surface, or even of a low relief. So soon as this was discovered and so soon as the art of sculpture found itself able to supply the want, a new period in pedimental decoration began.

Literary evidence to support this theory of the origin of pediment sculpture is not lacking. Pliny says in his *Natural History*

(xxxv. 156.): *Laudat (Varro) et Pasitelen qui plasticen matrem caelaturae et statuariae sculpturaeque dixit et cum esset in omnibus his summus nihil unquam fecit antequam finxit.* Also (xxxiv. 35.): *Similitudines exprimendi quae prima fuerit origo, in ea quam plasticen Graeci vocant dici convenientius erit, etenim prior quam statuaria fuit.* In both these cases the meaning of "plasticen" is clearly working, that is, moulding, in clay. Pliny, again (xxxv. 152.), tells us of the Corinthian Butades: *Butadis inventum est rubricam addere aut ex rubra creta fingere, primusque personas tegularum extremis imbricibus inposuit, quae inter initia prostypa vocavit, postea idem ectypa fecit. hinc et fastigia templorum orta.* The phrase *hinc et fastigia templorum orta*, has been bracketed by some editors because they could not believe the fact which it stated. *Fastigia* may from the whole connection and the Latin mean "pediments." This is quite in accord with the famous passage in Pindar,<sup>19</sup> attributing to the Corinthians the invention of pedimental composition. Here then we have stated approximately the conclusion which seems at least probable on other grounds, namely, that the tympanum of the pediment was originally filled with a group in terracotta, beyond doubt painted and in low relief.

But if we assume that the pedimental group could have originated in this way, we must be prepared to explain the course of its development up to the pediments of Ægina and the Parthenon, in which we find an entirely different principle, namely, the filling of these tympana with figures in the round. It is maintained by some scholars, notably by Koepp,<sup>20</sup> that no connection can be established between high relief and low relief, much less between statues entirely in the round and low relief. High relief follows all the principles of sculpture, while low relief may almost be considered as a branch of the painter's art. But this view seems opposed to the evidence of the facts. For there still exists a continuous series of pedimental groups, first in low relief then in high relief, and finally standing altogether free from the background, and becoming sculpture in the round. Examples in low relief are the Hydra pediment from the Acropolis and the pediment of the Megarian Treasury at Olympia, which, on artistic

<sup>19</sup> *Olymp.*, XIII, 21.

<sup>20</sup> *Jahrbuch deutschen archäol. Instituts*, II, 118.

grounds, can be set down as the two earliest now in existence. Then follow, in order of time and development, the Triton and Typhon pediments, in high relief, from the Acropolis; and after these the idea of relief is lost, and the pediment becomes merely a space destined to be adorned with statuary. Can we reasonably believe that the Hydra and Triton pediments, standing side by side on the Acropolis, so close to each other in time and in technic, owe their origin to entirely different motives, merely for the reason that the figures of one stand further out from the background than those of the other? Is it not easier to suppose that the higher reliefs, as they follow the older low reliefs in time, are developed from them, than to assume that just at the dividing-line a new principle came into operation?

It is a commonplace to say that sculpture in relief is only one branch of painting. Conze<sup>21</sup> publishes a sepulchral monument which seems to him to mark the first stage of growth. The surface of the figure and that of the surrounding ground remain the same; they are separated only by a shallow incised line. Conze says of it; "The tracing of the outline is no more than, and is in fact exactly the same as, the tracing employed by the Greek vase-painter when he outlined his figure with a brush full of black paint before he filled in with black the ground about it." The next step naturally is to cut away the surface outside and beyond the figures; the representation is still a picture except in the clearer marking of the bounding-line. The entire further growth and development of the Greek relief is in the direction of rounding these lines and of detaching the relief more and more from the back surface. This primitive picturesque method of treatment is found as well in high relief as in low. How then can the process of development be different for the two? I quote from Friederichs-Wolters<sup>22</sup> on the metopes of the temple of Apollo at Selinus, which are distinctly in high relief: "The relief of these works stands very near to the origin of relief-style. The surface of the figures is kept flat throughout, although the effort to represent them in their full roundness is not to be

<sup>21</sup> *Das Relief bei den Griechen, Sitzungs-Berichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1882, 567.

<sup>22</sup> *Gipsabgüsse antiker Bilderwerke*, Nos. 149-151.

mistaken. Only later were relief-figures rounded on the front and sides after the manner of free figures. Originally, whether in high or in low relief, they were flat forms, modelled for the plane surface whose ornament they were to be." As the sculptured works were brought out further and further from the background, this background tended to disappear. It was no longer a distinctly marked surface on which the figures were projected, but now higher and now lower, serving only to hold the figures together. When this point was reached, the entire separation of the figures from one another and from the background, became easy. That is, the change in conception is an easy step by which the relief was lost and free-standing figures substituted. This process of change was especially rapid in pedimental groups, for the reason stated above. The pediment field from its architectonic conditions was never suited to decoration in relief. But we find from the works before us that such a system was at least attempted, that painting and an increased projection of relief were employed as aids. We are bound to seek a logical explanation of the facts and of their bearing on the later history of art, and it is safer to assume a process of regular development than a series of anomalous changes. Koepf (*cf. supra*), for example, assumes that these two pediments in low relief are simply exceptions to the general rule, accounting for them by the fact that it was difficult to work out high reliefs from the poros stone of which they were made. He seems to forget that the higher reliefs from the Acropolis are of the same poros. This material in fact appears to have been chosen by the artist because it was almost as easy to incise and carve as the wood and clay to which he had been accustomed. The monuments of later Greek art give no hint of a distinction to be drawn between high and low relief. We find on the same stele figures barely attached to the ground, and others in mere outline. If then there are reasons for finding the origin of pedimental decoration in a plane or low-relief composition of terracotta, made more effective both by a framing of like material and technic, and by the acroteria at either extremity and above, then the process of development which leads at length to the pediments at Aegina and the Parthenon becomes at once easy and natural. We note first the change from terracotta to a low painted relief in stone, then this relief becomes,

from the necessities of the case, higher and higher until finally it gives place to free figures.

If ceramic art really did exert such an influence on temple-sculpture, we should be able to trace analogies in other lines. The most interesting is found in the design and execution of sepulchral monuments. Milchhoefer<sup>23</sup> is of the opinion that the tomb was not originally marked by an upright slab with sculptured figures. He finds what he thinks the oldest representation or sepulchral ornament in a black-figured vase of the so-called "prothesis" class.<sup>24</sup> Here are two women weeping about a sepulchral mound on which rests an amphora of like form to the one that bears the scene. He maintains then that such a prothesis vase was the first sepulchral monument, that this was later replaced by a vase of the same description in marble, of course on account of the fragile nature of pottery. For this reason, too, we find no certain proof of the fact in the old tombs, though Dr. Wolters<sup>25</sup> thinks that the discovery of fragments of vases on undisturbed tombs makes the case a very strong one. The use of such vases or urns of marble for this purpose became very prevalent. They are nearly always without ornament, save for a single small group, in relief or sometimes in color, representing the dead and the bereaved ones. A very evident connecting-link between these urns and the later sepulchral stele appears in monuments which show just such urns projected in relief upon a plane surface. The relief is sometimes bounded by the outlines of the urn itself,<sup>26</sup> sometimes a surrounding background is indicated. In many cases this background assumes the form of the ordinary sepulchral stele. The Central Museum at Athens is especially rich in examples of this kind. On two steles which I have noticed there, three urns are represented side by side. A still more interesting specimen is a stone so divided that its lower part is occupied by an urn in relief, above which is sculptured the usual scene of parting. This

<sup>23</sup> *Mitth. Athen*, v, 164.

<sup>24</sup> *Monumenti dell' Inst.*, VIII, tav. v. 1. g. h. : found near Cape Colias; at present in the Polytechnic Museum at Athens.

<sup>25</sup> *Attische Grabvasen*, a paper read before the German Institute in Athens, Dec. 9, 1890.

<sup>26</sup> Examples are Nos. 2099 and 2100 in the archaic room of the Louvre. I remember having seen nothing similar in any other European museum



scene has its normal place as a relief or a drawing in color on the surface of the urn itself; here, where the step in advance of choosing the plane stele to bear the relief seems already taken, the strength of tradition still asserts itself, and a similar group is repeated on the rounded face of the urn below. The transition to the more common form of sepulchral monument has now become easy; but the characteristics which point to its genesis in the funeral vase are still prominent.

This process of development, so far as can be judged from existing types, reaches down to the beginning of the fourth century B. C. Steles of a different class are found, dating from a period long before this. Instead of a group, they bear only the dead man in a way to suggest his position or vocation during life. All show distinctly a clinging to the technic of ceramic art. Sculptured steles and others merely painted exist side by side. The best known of the latter class is the Lyseas stele, in the Central Museum at Athens. Many more of the same sort have been discovered, differing from their vase predecessors in material and form, but keeping to the old principles. The outlines, for example, are first incised, and then the picture is finished with color. The Aristion stele may be taken as an example of the second order. Relief plays here the leading part; but it must still be assisted by painting, while the resemblance to vase-figures in position, arrangement of clothing, proportion and profile, remains as close as in the simply painted stele. An ever present feature, also, is the palmette acroterium, treated in conventional ceramic style. Loeschke<sup>27</sup> thinks that the origin of red-figured pottery is to be found in the dark ground and light coloring of these steles. Whether the opinion be correct or not, it points to a very close connection between the two forms of art.

The influence of ceramic decoration spread still further. Large numbers of steles and bases for votive offerings have been discovered on the Acropolis, which alike repeat over and over again conventional vase-patterns, and show the use of incised lines and other peculiarities of the technic of pottery.<sup>28</sup>

As to specific resemblances between the pediments of the Acropolis and vase-pictures, the subjects of all the groups are such

<sup>27</sup> *Mitth. Athen*, IV, 36.

<sup>28</sup> BORRMANN, *Jahrbuch des Instituts*, III, 274.

as appear very frequently on vases of all periods. About seventy Attic vases are known which deal with the contest of Hercules and Triton. One of these is a hydria at present in the Berlin Museum, No. 1906.<sup>29</sup> Hercules is represented astride the Triton, and he clasps him with both arms as in the Acropolis group. The Triton's scaly length, his fins and tail, are drawn in quite the same way. It is very noticeable that on the vase the contortions of the Triton's body seem much more violent; here the sculptor could not well follow the vase-painter so closely. It was far easier for him to work out the figure in milder curves; but he followed the vase-type as closely as possible. On the other hand, if the potter had copied the pedimental group the copy could perfectly well have been an exact one. The group is very similar also to a scene in the Assos frieze, with regard to which I quote from Friederichs-Wolters; <sup>30</sup> "It corresponds to the oldest Greek vase-paintings, in which we find beast fights borrowed from Oriental art, united with Greek myths and represented after the Greek manner." This frieze is ascribed to the sixth century B. C., and is not much later than our pediments.

For the Hydra pediment, there exists a still closer parallel, in an archaic Corinthian amphora, published by Gerhard.<sup>31</sup> Athena appears here as a spectator, though she has no part in the pedimental group; but in every other point, in the drawing of the Hydra, of Hercules and Iolaus, the identity is almost complete. Athena seems to have been omitted, because the artist found it difficult to introduce another figure in the narrow space. Evidently the vase must have represented a type known to the sculptor and copied by him.

For the Typhon pediment, no such close analogies are possible, at least in the form and arrangement of figures. It would seem that this is so simply because no vase-picture of this subject that

<sup>29</sup> Published by GERHARD, *Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder*, No. 111; RAYET et COLLIGNON, *Hist. Céram. Grecque*, fig. 57, p. 125. In the National Museum at Naples is a black-figured amphora, No. 3419, which repeats the same scene. The drawing and position of the two contestants is just as on the Berlin vase, the Triton seeking with one hand to break Hercules' hold about his neck, while with the other he holds a fish as attribute. Athena stands close by, watching the struggle.

<sup>30</sup> *Gipsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke*, Nos. 8-12.

<sup>31</sup> *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Nos. 95, 96.

we know so far answers the conditions of a pedimental group that it could be used as a pattern. In matters of detail, a hydria in Munich, No. 125,<sup>32</sup> offers the best illustration. For example, the vase-painting and the relief show quite the same treatment of hair, beard and wings in the figure of Typhon.

Speaking more generally, we find continually in the pediments reminiscences of ceramic drawing and treatment. The acroteria, painted in black and red on the natural surface of poros stone, take the shape of palmettes and lotuses. The cornices above and below are of clay or poros, painted in just such designs as appear on the Olympian terracottas; and these designs are frequently repeated in the sculptures themselves. The feathers of Typhon's wings are conventionally represented by a scale-pattern; the arc of the scales has been drawn with compass; we observe still the hole left in the centre by the leg of the compass. The larger pinions at the ends of the wings have been outlined regularly by incised lines, and then filled up with color. All this is as like the treatment of vase-figures, as it is unlike anything else in plastic art. In the former the scale-pattern is used conventionally to denote almost anything. Fragments of vases found on the Acropolis itself picture wings in just this way; or it may be Athena's ægis, the fleece of a sheep or the earth's surface that is so represented. On the body of the Triton and the Echidna of the pediments no attempt is made to indicate movement and contortion by the position of the scales; it is everywhere the lifeless conventionality of archaic vase-drawing. In sculptured representations the scale device is dropped, and with it the rigid regularity in the ordering of the pinions. Further, in drawing the scales of the Triton, the artist has dropped usual patterns and copied exactly a so-called bar-ornament which decorates the cornice just over the pediment. Here again he chooses one of the most common motives on vases. For the body of the Echidna, on the other hand, it is the so-called lattice-work pattern which represents the scale covering,—a pattern employed in vases for the most varied purposes, and found on the earliest Cypriote pottery. Even the roll of the snake-bodies of Typhon seems to follow a conventional spiral which we find on old Rhodian ware.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 237.

The outlining and coloring of the figures is most interesting. The poros stone of the reliefs is so soft that it could easily be worked with a knife; so incised lines are constantly used, and regular geometrical designs traced. Quite an assortment of colors is employed: black, white, red, dark brown, apparent green, and in the Typhon group, blue. It is very noticeable that these reliefs, unlike the others which in general furnish the closest analogies, the metopes of the temple at Selinus and the pediment of the Megarian Treasury at Olympia, have the ground unpainted. This is distinctly after the manner of the oldest Greek pottery and of archaic wall paintings. Herein they resemble also another archaic pedimental relief, found near the old temple of Dionysus at Athens, and representing just such a procession of satyrs and mænads as appears so often on vases.

To give a local habitation to the class of pottery which most nearly influenced the artist of these reliefs, is not easy. Perhaps it is a reasonable conjecture to make it Camirus of Rhodes. Camirus ware shows just such an admixture of oriental and geometrical designs as characterizes our pediments. Strange monsters of all kinds are represented there; while in the reliefs before us a goodly number of such monsters are translated to Greek soil.

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Athens, Nov. 10, 1891.

## THE FRIEZE OF THE CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES AT ATHENS.<sup>1</sup>

[PLATES XXII, XXIII.]

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The small circular Corinthian edifice, called among the common people the Lantern of Diogenes,<sup>2</sup> and erected, as we know from the inscription<sup>3</sup> on the architrave, to commemorate a choragic victory won by Lysicrates, son of Lysithides, with a boy-chorus of the tribe Acamantis, in the archonship of Evænetus (B. C. 335/4), has long been one of the most familiar of the lesser remains of ancient Athens. The monument was originally crowned by the tripod which was the prize of the successful chorus, and it doubtless was one of many buildings of similar character along the famous "Street of Tripods."<sup>4</sup> It is the aim of this paper to show, that the earliest publications of the sculptured reliefs on this monument have given a faulty representation of them, owing to the transposition of two sets of figures; that this mistake has been repeated in most subsequent publications down to our day; that inferences deduced therefrom have in so far been vitiated; and that new instructive facts concerning Greek composition in sculpture can be derived from a corrected rendering of the original.

Although we are not now concerned either with the subsequent fortunes of the monument and the story of its preservation, or with its architectural features and the various attempts which

<sup>1</sup> It is a pleasure to acknowledge my obligations to the Director of the School, Dr. Waldstein, who has kindly assisted me in the preparation of this paper by personal suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> This does not exclude the tolerably well-attested fact, that the name "Lantern of Diogenes" formerly belonged to another similar building near by, which had disappeared by 1676.     <sup>3</sup> *C. I. G.* 221.     <sup>4</sup> *Cf. Paus.*, I, 20, 1.

have been made to restore the original design, it may be convenient to recall briefly a few of the more important facts pertaining to these questions. The Monument of Lysicrates first became an object of antiquarian interest in 1669, when it was purchased by the Capuchin monks, whose mission had succeeded that of the Jesuits in 1658, and it was partially enclosed in their *hospitium*.<sup>5</sup> The first attempt to explain its purpose and meaning was made by a Prussian soldier, Johann Georg Transfeldt, who, after escaping from slavery in the latter part of 1674, fled to Athens, where he lived for more than a year.<sup>6</sup> Transfeldt deciphered the inscription, but was unable to decide whether the building was a "*templum Demosthenis*" or a "*Gymnasium a Lysicrate \* \* \* exstructum propter juventutem Atheniensem ex tribu Acamantia.*"<sup>7</sup> Much more important for the interpretation of the monument was the visit of Dr. Jacob Spon of Lyons, who arrived at Athens early in the year 1676. Spon also read the inscription,<sup>8</sup> and, from a comparison with other similar inscriptions, determined the true purpose of edifices of this class.<sup>9</sup> Finally the first volume of Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens*, which appeared in 1762, confirmed, corrected and extended Spon's results. Careful and exhaustive drawings accompanied the description of the monument.

In the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century, Athens was visited by many strangers from western Europe, and the hospitable convent of the Capuchins and the enclosed "Lantern," which at this time was used as a closet for books, acquired some notoriety. Late in the year 1821, however, during the occupation of Athens by the Turkish troops under Omer Vrioni, the convent was accidentally burned, and its most precious treasure was liberated, to be sure, but, as may still be seen, sadly damaged by the fire, and what was still more unfortunate, left unprotected and exposed to the destructive mischief of Athenian street-arabs and their less innocent elders.

Aside from some slight repairs and the clearing away of rubbish, the monument remained in this condition until 1867, when the

<sup>5</sup> SPON, *Voyage*, II, p. 244; LABORDE, *Athènes*, I, p. 75 and note 2.

<sup>6</sup> MICHAELIS, *Mitth. Athen*, I, p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> *Mitth. Athen*, I, p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> SPON, III, 2, p. 21 f.

<sup>9</sup> SPON, II, p. 174.

French Minister at Athens, M. de Gobineau, acting on behalf of his government, into whose possession the site of the former monastery had fallen, employed the architect Boulanger to make such restorations as were necessary to save the monument from falling to pieces.<sup>10</sup> At the same time the last remains of the old convent were removed, and some measures taken to prevent further injury to the ruin. Repairs were again being made under the direction of the French School at Athens, when I left Greece, in April, 1892.

For the architectural study of the monument of Lysicrates little has been done since Stuart's time. In the year 1845 and in 1859, the architect Theoph. Hansen made a new series of drawings from the monument, and upon them based a restoration which differs somewhat from that of Stuart, especially in the decoration of the roof. This work is discussed in the monograph of Von Lützwow.<sup>11</sup>

Confining our attention to the sculptures of the frieze, we will examine certain inaccuracies of detail which have hitherto prevailed in the treatment of this important landmark in the history of decorative reliefs of the fourth century. The frieze, carved in low relief upon a single block of marble, runs continuously around the entire circumference of the structure. Its height is only .012 m. (lower, rectangular moulding) + .23 m. (between mouldings) + .015 m. (upper, rounded moulding).<sup>12</sup> It is to be noticed that the figures rest upon the lower moulding, while they are often (in fourteen cases) carried to the top of the upper moulding.

The question as to the subject of the relief was a sore puzzle to the early travellers. Père Babin finds "*des dieux marins*,"<sup>13</sup> Transfeldt, "*varias gymnasticorum figuras*," which he thought represented certain games held "*in Aegena insula*" in honor of Demosthenes.<sup>14</sup> Vernon (1676), who regarded the monument as a temple of Hercules, sees his labors depicted in the sculptures of the frieze.<sup>15</sup> Spon, while not accepting this view, admitted that some, at least, of the acts of Hercules were represented; so that the building, apart from its monumental purpose, might also have been sacred

<sup>10</sup> VON LÜTZOW, *Zeitschr. für bildende Kunst*, III, pp. 23, 236 f.

<sup>11</sup> Pp. 239 ff., 264 ff. For another restoration of the roof cf. SEMPER, *Der Stil*, vol. II, p. 242.

<sup>12</sup> My own measurements.

<sup>13</sup> WACHSMUTH, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, p. 757.

<sup>14</sup> *Mitth. Athen*, I, p. 118.

<sup>15</sup> LABORDE, I, pp. 249 f.

to that deity.<sup>16</sup> To Stuart and Revett<sup>17</sup> is due the credit of being the first to recognize in these reliefs the story of Dionysus and the pirates, which is told first in the Homeric Hymn to Dionysus. In the Homeric version, Dionysus, in the guise of a fair youth with dark locks and purple mantle, appears by the sea-shore, when he is espied by Tyrrhenian pirates, who seize him and hale him on board their ship, hoping to obtain a rich ransom. But when they proceed to bind him the fetters fall from his limbs, whereupon the pilot, recognizing his divinity, vainly endeavors to dissuade his comrades from their purpose. Soon the ship flows with wine; then a vine with hanging clusters stretches along the sail-top, and the mast is entwined with ivy. Too late the marauders perceive their error and try to head for the shore; but straightway the god assumes the form of a lion and drives them, all save the pious pilot, terror-stricken into the sea, where they become dolphins.

In the principal post-Homeric versions, the Tyrrhenians endeavor to kidnap Dionysus under pretext of conveying him to Naxos, the circumstances being variously related. Thus in the *Naxiaka* of Aglaosthenes (*apud* HYGIN. Poet. Astronom. II. 17), the child Dionysus and his companions are to be taken to the nymphs, his nurses. According to Ovid,<sup>18</sup> the pirates find the god on the shore of Chios, stupid with sleep and wine, and bring him on board their vessel. On awaking he desires to be conveyed to Naxos, but the pirates turn to the left, whereupon, as they give no heed to his remonstrances, they are changed to dolphins and leap into the sea. Similarly Servius, *Ad. Verg. Aen.*, I. 67. In the *Fabulae* of Hyginus (cxxxiv), and in Pseudo-Apollodorus,<sup>19</sup> Dionysus engages passage with the Tyrrhenians. Nonnus, however, returns to the Homeric story, which he has modified, extended, and embellished in his own peculiar way.<sup>20</sup> These versions, to which may be added that of Seneca,<sup>21</sup> all agree in making the scene take place on ship-board, and, if we except the "comites" of Aglaosthenes, in none of them is the god accompanied by a retinue of satyrs. But Philostratus<sup>22</sup> pretends to describe a painting, in which two ships are

<sup>16</sup> SPON, II, p. 175.

<sup>18</sup> *Met.*, III. 605 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Dionys.*, XLV. 119 ff.

<sup>22</sup> *Imag.*, I. 12.

<sup>17</sup> I, p. 27.

<sup>19</sup> *Bibliotheca*, III. 5. 8.

<sup>21</sup> *Edipus*, vv. 455-478.



portrayed, the pirate-craft lying in ambush for the other, which bears Dionysus and his rout.

In our frieze, however, the myth is represented in an entirely different manner. The scene is not laid on shipboard, but near the shore of the sea, where, as the action shows, Dionysus and his attendant satyrs are enjoying the contents of two large craters, when they are attacked by pirates. The satyrs who are characterized as such by their tails, and in most cases (9 + 2 : 7) by the panther-skin, forthwith take summary vengeance upon their assailants, of whom some are bound, others beaten and burned, while others take refuge in the sea, only to be changed into dolphins by the invisible power of the god.

These modifications of the traditional form of the story have usually<sup>23</sup> been accounted for by the necessities of plastic art; and this view has in its favor that the representation in sculpture of any of the other versions which are known to us, would be attended by great difficulties of composition, and would certainly be much less effective. Reisch, however, has suggested<sup>24</sup> that this frieze illustrates the dithyrambus which won the prize on this occasion, and that the variations in the details of the story are due to this. There is no evidence for this hypothesis, inasmuch as we have no basis upon which to found an analogy, and know nothing whatever of the nature of the piece in which the chorus had figured.

The general arrangement and technic of this relief, the skill with which unity of design is preserved despite the circular form, the energy of the action, and the variety of the grouping, have often been pointed out. More particularly, the harmony and symmetry, which the composition exhibits, have been noticed by most of the later writers who have had occasion to describe the frieze. It is here, however, that we find the divergencies and inaccuracies which have been alluded to above, and these are such as to merit a closer examination.

To begin with the central scene, which is characterized as such by the symmetrical grouping of two pairs of satyrs about the god

<sup>23</sup> E. g. OVERBECK, *Plastik*,<sup>3</sup> II. p. 92; Friederichs-Wolters, *Bausteine*, p. 488.

<sup>24</sup> *Griech. Weihgeschenke*, p. 102.

Dionysus and his panther and is externally defined by a crater at either side, we observe that, while the two satyrs immediately to the right (I') and left (I) of Dionysus (0), correspond in youth and in their attitude toward him, the satyr at the left (I) has a thyrsus and a mantle which the other does not possess. These figures have unfortunately suffered much; the central group is throughout badly damaged, the upper part of the body and the head of Dionysus especially so. Of the tail of the panther as drawn in Stuart's work, no trace exists. The faces of the two satyrs and the head of the thyrsus are also much mutilated. The other two satyrs (II:II'), whose faces are also mutilated, correspond very closely in youth, action, and nudity. In these two pairs of figures it is also to be noticed that the heads of I and II at the left face the central group, while the heads of I' and II' at the right are turned away from the centre, toward the right. By this device the sculptor has obviated any awkwardness which might arise from the necessity of placing Dionysus in profile.

Passing now to the scenes outside of the vases, we observe that, of the first pair of satyrs, the bearded figure at the left (III), leans upon a tree-stump, over which is thrown his panther-skin, as he contemplates the contest between his fellows and the pirates, while against his right side rests a thyrsus. The corresponding satyr on the right (III'), also bearded, but with his head now nearly effaced, wears his mantle slung over the left shoulder as he advances to the right, offering with his right hand the freshly filled wine-cup to a youthful companion (IV'). The latter, with panther-skin over left shoulder and arm, and club (partially effaced) in outstretched right hand, is moving rapidly to the right, as if to join in the battle; his face (also somewhat mutilated) is partly turned to the left, and despite his attitude of refusal he forms a sort of group with his neighbor on that side (III'), and has no connection, as has been wrongly assumed,<sup>25</sup> with the following group to the right (V'). Corresponding with this youthful satyr, we have on the left (IV) a nude bearded satyr (face somewhat damaged,) armed with a torch instead of a club, moving swiftly to the left to take part in the contest. He has no group-relation with his

<sup>25</sup> *British Museum Marbles*, ix, p. 114.

neighbor on the right (III), although he may be supposed to have just left him. The relation is not sufficiently marked in the case of the corresponding figures on the other side (III', IV') to injure the symmetry.

These two pairs of satyrs serve to express the transition from the untroubled ease of Dionysus and his immediate attendants, to the violence and confusion of the struggle. Thus the first pair (III : III') seem to feel that their active participation is unnecessary, and so belong rather to the central scene; while the second pair (IV : IV'), hurrying to the combat, are to be reckoned rather with those who are actively engaged. This is also emphasized by the symmetrical alternation of young and old satyrs, *i. e.* :

f	old	young	old	young	old	young
\	v'a	v'b	iv	iv'	v'b	v'r'b

and by their correspondence to VII : VII'.

On the left side we have next a group, turned toward the right, consisting of a young satyr with flowing panther-skin (vb), who places his left knee on the back of a prostrate pirate (va) whom he is about to strike with a club which he holds in his uplifted right hand. The pirate (face now somewhat damaged) is, like all of his fellows, youthful and nude. The corresponding group on the right, faces the left, and represents a nude bearded satyr (v'b), with left knee on the hip of a fallen pirate (v'a), whose hands he is about to bind behind his back. Thus the arrangement of the two groups corresponds, but the action is somewhat different.

I now wish to point out an error which is interesting and instructive as illustrating how mistakes creep into standard archaeological literature to the detriment of a proper appreciation of the original monuments; and I may perhaps hope not only to correct this error once for all, but also, in so doing, to make clearer certain noteworthy artistic qualities of this composition.

If we turn to the reproductions of the Lysicrates frieze in the common manuals of Greek sculpture, we find that the group (v') has exchanged places with the next group to the right (vi') while the corresponding groups on the left side (v, vi) retain their proper position. In order to detect the source of this confusion, we have only to examine the drawings of Stuart and Revett, from which nearly all the subsequent illustrations are more or less directly

derived. In the first volume of Stuart and Revett, the groups (v<sup>1</sup>, iv<sup>1</sup>) occupy plates XIII and XIV, and it is evident that the drawings have been in some way misplaced. These plates have been reproduced on a reduced scale in Meyer's *Gesch. d. bildenden Künste*<sup>26</sup> (1825); Müller-Wieseler<sup>27</sup> (1854); Overbeck,<sup>28</sup> *Plastik*<sup>3</sup> (1882); W. C. Perry, *History of Greek Sculpture*<sup>29</sup> (1882); Mrs. L. M. Mitchell, *History of Ancient Sculpture*;<sup>30</sup> Baumeister, *Denkmäler*<sup>31</sup> (1887); Harrison and Verrall, *Ancient Athens*<sup>32</sup> (1890), and in all with the same misarrangement.

Nevertheless correct reproductions of the frieze, derived from other sources, have not been wholly lacking. There is, for example, a drawing of the whole monument by S. Pomardi in Dodwell's *Tour through Greece*<sup>33</sup> (1819), in which the correct position of these groups is clearly indicated. In 1842 appeared volume IX of the *British Museum Marbles* containing engravings of a cast made by direction of Lord Elgin, about 1800.<sup>34</sup> Inasmuch as this cast or similar copies have always been the chief sources for the study of the relief, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the original, it is the more strange that this mistake should have remained so long uncorrected,<sup>35</sup> or that Müller-Wieseler should imply<sup>36</sup> that their engraving was corrected from the British Museum publication, when no trace of such correction is to be found. A third drawing in which the true arrangement is shown, is the engraving after Hansen's restoration of the whole monument, published in Von Lützow's monograph<sup>37</sup> (1868). Although Stuart's arrangement violates the symmetry maintained between the other groups of the frieze, yet Overbeck<sup>38</sup> especially commends the symmetry shown in the composition of these portions of the relief.

<sup>26</sup> *Tafel* 25. <sup>27</sup> *I Taf.* 37. <sup>28</sup> II, p. 91. <sup>29</sup> P. 474. <sup>30</sup> P. 487. <sup>31</sup> II, p. 841. <sup>32</sup> P. 248. <sup>33</sup> I, opposite p. 289.

<sup>34</sup> H. MEYER, *Gesch. der bildenden Künste*, II, p. 242, note 313.

<sup>35</sup> Since I first noticed the error from study of the original monument, it gives me pleasure to observe that Mr. Murray in his *History of Greek Sculpture*, II, p. 333, note, has remarked that there is a difference between Stuart's drawing and the cast, without, however, being able to determine positively which is correct, owing to lack of means of verification. He was inclined to agree with the cast.

<sup>36</sup> I, *Taf.* 37, note 150: *Mit Berücksichtigung der Abbildungen nach später genommenen Gypsabgüssen in Ancient Marbles in the Brit. Mus.*

<sup>37</sup> Between pp. 240 and 241.

<sup>38</sup> *Plastik*<sup>3</sup>, II, p. 94.

Now let us examine the symmetry as manifested in the corrected arrangement. After the figures which we have found to have a thoroughly symmetrical disposition, we have on the left side a group consisting of a bearded satyr (face damaged), with panther-skin (VI a), about to strike with his thyrsus a pirate kneeling at the left (VI b), with his hands bound behind his back. The face of this figure is also somewhat injured. The corresponding group on the right (VI<sup>1</sup> instead of the erroneous V<sup>1</sup>), represents a youthful satyr with panther-skin thrown over his arm (VI<sup>1</sup> a), about to strike with the club which he holds in his uplifted right hand, a pirate (VI<sup>1</sup> b), who has been thrown on his back, and raises his left arm, partly in supplication and partly to ward off the blow. As in the groups V:V<sup>1</sup>, so in VI:VI<sup>1</sup>, persons, action, and arrangement, are closely symmetrical, while a graceful variety and harmony is effected by so modifying each of these elements as to repeat scarcely a detail in the several corresponding figures.

After these five fighters, we observe on the left a powerful bearded satyr (face much injured), with flowing panther-skin, facing the right, and wrenching away a branch from a tree (VII). The corresponding figure on the right side (VII<sup>1</sup>) is a nude, bearded satyr, who is breaking down a branch of a tree. At first the correspondence does not seem to be maintained, for this satyr faces the right, whereas after the analogy of figures VII and IV we might expect him to face the left. But a closer examination shows that this lack of symmetry is apparent only when figures VII:VII<sup>1</sup> are considered individually, and apart from the scenes to which they belong. For while IV and VII, the outside figures of the main scene on the left, appropriately face each other, the figures IV<sup>1</sup> and VII<sup>1</sup>, which occupy the same position with regard to the chief scene on the right, are placed so as to face in opposite directions. By this subtle device, for which the relation between the figures III<sup>1</sup> and IV<sup>1</sup> furnishes an evident motive, the sculptor has contrived to indicate distinctly the limits of these scenes, while the symmetry existing between them is heightened and emphasized by the avoidance of rigid uniformity.

The trees serve also to mark the end of the preceding scenes, and to contrast the land, upon which they stand, with the sea, of which we behold a portion on either side, while a pair of cor-

responding, semi-human dolphins (VIII : VIII<sup>1</sup>) are just leaping into the element which is to form their home. These dolphins are not quite accurately drawn in Stuart and Revett, for what appears as an under jaw is, as Dodwell<sup>39</sup> rightly pointed out, a fin, and their mouths are closed; the teeth, which are seen in Stuart's drawing and all subsequent reproductions of it, do not exist on the monument. The correct form of the head may be seen in the British Museum publication.

After these dolphins, we have on each side another piece of land succeeded again by a stretch of sea. On these pieces of land are seen on each side two groups of two figures each, while a third incipient dolphin (0<sup>1</sup>), which does not stand in group-relation with any of the other figures, leaps into the sea between them. In these groups there is a general correspondence, but it does not extend to particular positions or to accessories.

At the left we observe first a bearded satyr with torch and flowing panther-skin (IX a), pursuing a pirate, who flees to the left (IX b). The space between the satyr and his victim is in part occupied by a hole, which was probably cut for a beam at the time when the monument was built into the convent. In the corresponding places on the right side, we have a bearded satyr with panther-skin (IX<sup>1</sup> a), about to strike with the forked club which he holds in his uplifted right hand, a seated and bound pirate (IX<sup>1</sup> b), whose hair the satyr has clutched with his left hand. The heads of both figures are considerably damaged, and the lower part of the right leg of the pirate is quite effaced. To return to the left side, the tree at the left of the fleeing pirate (IX b), does not correspond with any thing on the right side. It serves to indicate the shore of the sea, while on the other side this is effected by the high rocks upon which the pirate (IX<sup>1</sup> b) is seated.

The next group on the left is represented as at the very edge of the water, and consists of a nude bearded satyr (x b), who is dragging an overthrown pirate (x a) by the foot, with the evident intention of hurling him into the sea. The legs and the right arm of this pirate have been destroyed by another hole, similar to that which is found between figures IX and IX a. On the right side, a

<sup>39</sup> 1, p. 290.

bearded satyr, with flowing panther-skin (x<sup>1</sup> a) rushes to the right, thrusting a torch into the face of a pirate who is seated on a rock (x<sup>1</sup> b), with his hands bound behind his back. In his shoulder are fastened the fangs of a serpent, which is in keeping here as sacred to Dionysus. Perhaps, as Stuart has suggested,<sup>40</sup> he may be a metamorphosis of the cord with which the pirate's hands are bound; but the sculptor has not made this clear. The figures of this group, which were in tolerable preservation at the time when Lord Elgin's cast was made, have since been nearly effaced, particularly the face, legs and torch of the satyr, and the face and legs of the pirate, also the rocks upon which he is seated, and the serpent. Between these figures and the following dolphin, there is a third hole, similar to those mentioned already, and measuring 15 x 16 centimetres.

The less rigid correspondence of these groups (x, ix : ix<sup>1</sup>, x<sup>1</sup>), has caused some difficulty. In the text of the *British Museum Marbles*,<sup>41</sup> all that falls between the pair of dolphins (VIII : VIII<sup>1</sup>), is regarded as belonging to a separate composition, grouped about the single dolphin (0<sup>1</sup>). But such an interpolated composition, besides having no purpose in itself, would vitiate the unity of the entire relief. For, although the circular form is less favorable to a strongly marked symmetry than is the plane, at least in compositions of small extent, still the individual figures and groups must bear some relation to a common centre, and there can be no division of interest, or mere stringing together of disconnected figures or groups of figures. Such a stringing together is assumed by Mr. Murray, when, in his *History of Greek Sculpture*,<sup>42</sup> he speaks of seven figures after the pair of dolphins, which, "though without direct responion among themselves, still indicate the continued punishment of the pirates." In the pirate seated on the rocks (x b), however, Mr. Murray<sup>43</sup> finds what he calls a "sort of echo" of Dionysus, inasmuch as he is seated in a commanding position, and is attacked by the god's serpent. There is, to be sure, a certain external resemblance in the attitudes of the two figures, but direct connection cannot be assumed without separating x<sup>1</sup>a

<sup>40</sup> I, p. 34. Stuart cites Nonnus, *Dionys.*, XLV. 137. Cf. also *Ancient Marbles in the British Mus.* IX. p. 115.

<sup>41</sup> IX, p. 115.

<sup>42</sup> II, p. 332.

<sup>43</sup> II, p. 332.

from x<sup>1</sup> b, with which, however, it obviously forms a group, and entirely disregarding the relations which the groups x, ix : ix<sup>1</sup>, x<sup>1</sup> bear to one another and to the dolphin 0<sup>1</sup>. And this Mr. Murray does, when he takes seven figures, among which x<sup>1</sup> b is evidently to be considered as central instead of what is plainly four groups of two figures each, *plus* one dolphin.

There is, as we have already said, a general correspondence between these groups. This is effected in such a way that the group ix resembles x<sup>1</sup> in action and arrangement, rather than 9<sup>1</sup>, which, on the other hand, resembles group x, rather than group ix. In other words, the diagonalism which we have noticed above in the arrangement of young and old satyrs (vi a, v b, iv : iv<sup>1</sup>, v<sup>1</sup> b, vi<sup>1</sup> a), is extended here to the groups themselves.

Moreover, the stretches of sea with the paired dolphins (viii : viii<sup>1</sup>), which are introduced between these groups and those which had preceded, are not to be regarded as separating the composition into two parts, but as connecting the central scene with similar scenes in a different locality. These scenes are again joined by another stretch of sea with the single dolphin (0<sup>1</sup>), which thus forms the centre of the back of the relief, opposite Dionysus, and the terminus of the action which proceeds from the god toward either side.

I do not mean to say, however, that these scenes beyond the dolphins (viii : viii<sup>1</sup>), are to be looked upon as a mere repetition of those which have preceded, distinguished only by greater license in the symmetry, or that the changes of locality have no other purpose than to lend variety to the action. On the contrary, if we examine the indications of scenery in this relief, we see that those features by which the artist has characterized the place of this part of the action as the seashore, the trees near the water's edge, the alternating stretches of land and sea, the dolphins, the satyr pulling the pirate into the water (x), are confined to the space beyond the trees. In the scenes on the other side of the trees, there is not only no suggestion of the sea, but the rocks and the sequence of figures up to Dionysus indicate rather that his place of repose is some elevation near the seashore. The contrast between the more peaceful and luxurious surroundings of the god and the violent contest with the pirates, is thus carried out and enforced



by the sculptural indications of landscape, as well as by the leading lines of the composition. Though I would not imply that the composition of this frieze was in any way governed by the laws which rule similar compositions in pediments, it is interesting and instructive to note that the general principles of distribution of subject which have been followed, are somewhat similar to those which we can trace in the best-known pediments extant; thus, as the god in his more elevated position would occupy the centre of the pediment, so the low-lying seashore and the scenes which are being enacted upon it correspond to the wings at either side.

To recapitulate, the concordance of figures in this relief is then briefly as follows: In the central scene, *i. e.*, inside the vases, and in the first pair of transitional figures (III, II, I: I', II', III'), equality of persons, but not of accessories (drapery, thyrsi); action symmetrical. In the immediately adjacent scenes, including the second pair of transitional figures and the satyrs at the trees (VII, VI, V, IV: IV', V', VI', VII'), the persons are diagonally symmetrical in VI a, v b, IV: IV', V' b, VI' a (*i. e.*, old, young, old: young, old, young), equal in VII: VII'. The drapery is diagonally symmetrical in v b, IV: IV', V' b (*i. e.*, panther-skin, nudity: panther-skin, nudity), equal in VI a: VI' a, not symmetrical in VII: VII', and the weapons are not symmetrical, except in VII: VII' (*i. e.*, thyrsus, club, torch: club, no weapon, club). The action is symmetrical throughout, although not exactly the same in v: v'. In the scenes beyond the dolphins, the persons are equivalent (x, IX: IX', x'), while the action, drapery and weapons are harmonious, but not diagonally symmetrical (*i. e.*, IX a = x' a, but x b < IX' a). At the left, a tree, at the right, a pile of rocks and a serpent.—The persons are, accordingly, symmetrical throughout; the action is so until past the dolphins (VIII: VIII'); the drapery only in II: II', and in VI, V, IV: IV', V', VI'; and the weapons not at all.

It is thus apparent that the correspondence of the figures in this frieze is by no means rigid and schematic or devoid of life, but that, on the contrary, the same principles of symmetry obtain which have been pointed out by many authorities as prevalent in Greek art.<sup>46</sup> The whole composition exhibits freedom and

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Brunn, *Bildwerke des Parthenon*; Flasch, *Zum Parthenonfries* pp. 65 ff. and Waldstein, *Essays on the Art of Pheidias*, pp. 80 f., 114 ff., 153 ff., 194 f., 205, 210

elasticity, not so indulged in as to produce discord, but peculiarly appropriate to the element of mirth and comedy which characterizes the story, and upon which the sculptor has laid especial stress.

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Berlin, August 19, 1892.

## DIONYSUS ἐν Ἀττικῶναι.\*

The dispute over the number of Dionysiac festivals in the Attic calendar, more particularly with regard to the date of the so-called Lenæa, is one of long duration.<sup>1</sup> Boeckh maintained that the Lenæa were a separate festival celebrated in the month Gamelion. To this opinion August Mommsen in the *Heortologie* returns; and maintained as it is by O. Ribbeck,<sup>2</sup> by Albert Müller,<sup>3</sup> by A. E. Haigh,<sup>4</sup> and by G. Oehmichen,<sup>5</sup> it may fairly be said to be the accepted theory to-day. This opinion, however, is by no means universally received. For example, O. Gilbert<sup>6</sup> has attempted to prove that the country Dionysia, Lenæa, and Anthesteria were only parts of the same festival.

But while the date of the so-called Lenæa has been so long open to question, until recently it has been universally held that some portion at least of all the festivals at Athens in honor of the wine-god was held in the precinct by the extant theatre of Dionysus. With the ruins of this magnificent structure before the eyes, and no other theatre in sight, the temptation was certainly a strong one to find in this neighborhood the Limnæ mentioned in the records of the ancients. When Pervanoglu found a handful of rushes in the neighborhood of the present military hospital, the matter seemed finally settled. So, on the maps and charts of

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<sup>1</sup> *Vom Unterschied der Lenæen, Anthesterien und ländlichen Dionysien, in den Abhdl. der k. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin, 1816-17.*

<sup>2</sup> *Die Anfänge und Entwicklung des Dionysoscultus in Attika.*

<sup>3</sup> *Bühnen-Allerthümer.*

<sup>4</sup> *The Attic Theatre.*

<sup>5</sup> *Das Bühnenwesen der Griechen und Römer.*

<sup>6</sup> *Die Festzeit der Attischen Dionysien.*

Athens we find the word *Limnæ* printed across that region lying to the south of the theatre, beyond the boulevard and the hospital. When, therefore, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, by Harrison and Verrall, appeared over a year ago, those familiar with the topography of Athens as laid down by Curtius and Kaupert were astonished to find, on the little plan facing page 5, that the Limnæ had been removed from their time-honored position and located between the Colonus Agoræus and the Dipylum. That map incited the preparation of the present article.

While investigating the reasons for and against so revolutionary a change, the writer has become convinced that here, Dr. Dörpfeld, the author of the new view, has built upon a sure foundation. How much in this paper is due to the direct teaching of Dr. Dörpfeld in the course of his invaluable lectures *an Ort und Stelle* on the topography of Athens, I need not say to those who have listened to his talks. How much besides he has given to me of both information and suggestion I would gladly acknowledge in detail; but as this may not always be possible, I will say now that the views presented here after several months of study, in the main correspond with those held by Dr. Dörpfeld. The facts and authorities here cited, and the reasoning deduced from these, are, however, nearly all results of independent investigation. So I shall content myself in general with presenting the reasons which have led me to my own conclusions; for it would require a volume to set forth all the arguments of those who hold opposing views.

The passage Thucydides, II. 15, is the authority deemed most weighty for the placing of the Limnæ to the south of the Acropolis. The question of the location of this section of Athens is so intimately connected with the whole topography of the ancient city, that it cannot be treated by itself. I quote therefore the entire passage:

τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δὲ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυνται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου, καὶ τὸ Πύθιον, καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς, καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι· ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἵδρυνται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ

ταύτη ἀρχαία. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνη καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιβρόχῃ ὀνομασμένη, ἐκείνη τε ἐγγύς οὔση τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι.

Two assumptions are made from this text by those who place the Limnæ by the extant theatre. The first is that ἵπ' αὐτήν includes the whole of the extensive section to the south of the Acropolis extending to the Ilissus, and reaching to the east far enough to include the existing Olympium, with the Pythium and Callirrhoe, which lay near. The second assumption is that these are the particular localities mentioned under the τεκμήριον δέ. Let us see if this is not stretching ἵπ' αὐτήν a little. I will summarize, so far as may be necessary for our present purpose, the views of Dr. Dörpfeld on the land lying ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, or the Pelasgicum.

That the Pelasgicum was of considerable size is known from the fact that it was one of the sacred precincts occupied when the people came crowding in from the country at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War,<sup>7</sup> and from the inscription<sup>8</sup> which forbade that stone should be quarried in or carried from the precinct, or that earth should be removed therefrom. That the Pelasgicum with its nine gates was on the south, west, and southwest slopes, the formation of the Acropolis rock proves, since it is only here that the Acropolis can be ascended easily. That it should include all that position of the hillside between the spring in the Æsculapium on the south and the Clepsydra on the northwest, was necessary; for in the space thus included lay the springs which formed the source of the water-supply for the fortifications. That the citadel was divided into two parts, the Acropolis proper, and the Pelasgicum, we know.<sup>9</sup> One of the two questions in each of the two passages from Aristophanes refers to the Acropolis, and the other to the Pelasgicum, and the two are mentioned as parts of the citadel. That the Pelasgicum actually did extend from the Æsculapium to the Clepsydra we know from Lucian.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> THUCYDIDES, II. 17.

<sup>8</sup> DITTENBERGER, *S. I. G.* 13, 55 ff.

<sup>9</sup> THUCYDIDES, II. 17; ARISTOPHANES, *Birds*, 829 ff.; *Lysistrata*, 480 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Piscator*, 42.

The people are represented as coming up to the Acropolis in crowds, filling the road. The way becoming blocked by numbers, in their eagerness they begin to climb up by ladders, first from the Pelasgicum itself, through which the road passes. As this space became filled, they placed their ladders a little further from the road, in the Æsculapium to the right and by the Areopagus to the left. Still others come, and they must move still further out to find room, to the grave of Talos beyond the Æsculapium and to the Anaceum beyond the Areopagus. In another passage of Lucian,<sup>11</sup> Hermes declares that Pan dwells just above the Pelasgicum; so it reached at least as far as Pan's grotto.

The fortifications of Mycenæ and Tiryns prove that it was not uncommon in ancient Greek cities to divide the Acropolis, the most ancient city, into an upper and a lower citadel.

Finally, that the strip of hillside in question was in fact the Pelasgicum, we are assured by the existing foundations of the ancient walls. A Pelasgic wall extends as a boundary-wall below the Æsculapium, then onward at about the same level until interrupted by the Odeum of Herodes Atticus. At this point there are plain indications that before the construction of this building, this old wall extended across the space now occupied by the auditorium. Higher up the hill behind the Odeum, and both within and without the Beulé Gate, we find traces of still other walls which separated the terraces of the Pelasgicum and probably contained the nine gates which characterized it. Here then we have the ancient city of Cecrops, the city before Theseus, consisting of the Acropolis and the part close beneath, particularly to the south, the Pelasgicum. We shall find for other reasons also that there is no need to stretch the meaning of the words *ὑπ' αὐτήν πρὸς νότον* to make them cover territory something like half a mile to the eastward, and to include the later Olympium within the limits of our early city.

Wachsmuth has well said,<sup>12</sup> although this is not invariably true,<sup>13</sup> that *ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν* and *ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει* are used with refer-

<sup>11</sup> *Bis Accus*, 9.

<sup>12</sup> *Berichte der philol.-histor. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesell. der Wiss.*, 1887, p. 383.

<sup>13</sup> *Am. Jour. of Archaeology*, III. 38, ff.

ence to objects lying halfway up the slope of the Acropolis. On the next page he adds, however, that Thucydides could not have meant to describe as the ancient city simply the ground enclosed within the Pelasgic fortifications, or he would have mentioned these in the *τεκμήρια*. Thucydides, in the passage quoted, wished to show that the city of Cecrops was very small in comparison with the later city of Theseus; that the Acropolis was inhabited; and that the habitations did not extend beyond the narrow limits of the fortifications. He distinctly says that before the time of Theseus, the Acropolis was the city. He proceeds to give the reasons for his view: The presence of the ancient temples on the Acropolis itself, the fact that the ancient precincts outside the Acropolis were *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως*, and the neighborhood of the fountain Enneacrunus. We know, that the Acropolis was still officially called *πόλις* in Thucydides' day; and *πόλις* so used would have no meaning if the Acropolis itself was not the ancient city. *Πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος*, in the passage quoted, refers to the city of Cecrops, the Acropolis and Pelasgicum taken together; and *τῆς πόλεως* refers to the entire later city as it existed in the time of Thucydides. It is, however, in the four temples outside the Acropolis included under the *τεκμήριον δέ* that we are particularly interested. The Pythium of the passage cannot be that Pythium close by the present Olympium, which was founded by Pisistratus. Pausanias (i. 28, 4,) says: "On the descent [from the Acropolis], not in the lower part of the city but just below the Propylæa, is a spring of water, and close by a shrine of Apollo in a cave. It is believed that here Apollo met Creusa." Probably it was because this cave was the earliest abode of Apollo in Athens that Euripides placed here the scene of the meeting of Apollo and Creusa.

According to Dr. Dörpfeld it was opposite this Pythium that the Panathenaic ship came to rest.<sup>14</sup> In *Ion*, 285, Euripides makes it clear that, from the wall near the Pythium, the watchers looked toward Harma for that lightning which was the signal for the sending of the offering to Delphi. This passage would have no meaning if referred to lightning to be seen by looking toward

<sup>14</sup> PHILOSTRAT. *Vit. Sophist.* II p. 236.

Harma from any position near the existing Olympium; for the rocks referred to by Euripides are to the northwest, and so could not be visible from the later Pythium. To be sure, in later times the official title of the Apollo of the cave seems to have been ἱπ ἀκράτωρ or ἐν ἄκραϊς, but this was only after such a distinction became necessary from the increased number of Apollo precincts in the city. The inscriptions referring to the cave in this manner are without exception of Roman date.<sup>15</sup> From Strabo we learn<sup>16</sup> that the watch looked "toward Harma" from an altar to Zeus Astrapæus on the wall between the Pythium and the Olympium. This wall has always been a source of trouble to those who place the Pythium in question near the present Olympium. But this difficulty vanishes if we accept the authority of Euripides, for the altar of Zeus Astrapæus becomes located on the northwest wall of the Acropolis; and from this lofty position above the Pythium, with an unobstructed view of the whole northern horizon, it is most natural to expect to see these flashes from Harma.

The Olympium mentioned by Strabo and Thucydides cannot therefore be the famous structure begun by Pisistratus and dedicated by Hadrian; we must look for another on the northwest side of the Acropolis. Here, it must be admitted we could wish for fuller evidence. Pausanias (I. 18. 8) informs us that "they say Deucalion built the old sanctuary of Zeus Olympius." Unfortunately he does not say where it was located.

Mr. Penrose in an interesting paper read before the British School at Athens in the spring of 1891, setting forth the results of his latest investigations at the Olympium, said that in the course of his investigations there appeared foundations which he could ascribe to no other building than this most ancient temple. But Dr. Dörpfeld, after a careful examination of these remains, declares that they could by no possibility belong to the sanctuary of the legendary Deucalion.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> HARRISON and VERRALL, *Mythology and Monuments*, p. 541.

<sup>16</sup> STRABO, p. 404.

<sup>17</sup> It has been held that Pausanias mentions the tomb of Deucalion, which was near the existing Olympium, as a proof that Deucalion's temple was also here. Pausanias however merely says in this passage that this tomb was pointed out in his day only as a proof that Deucalion sojourned at Athens.



The abandonment of work on the great temple of the Olympian Zeus from the time of the Pisistratids to that of Antiochus Epiphanes, would have left the Athenians without a temple of Zeus for 400 years, unless there existed elsewhere a foundation in his honor. It is on its face improbable that the citizens would have allowed so long a time to pass unless they already possessed some shrine to which they attached the worship and festivals of the chief of the gods.

The spade has taught us that the literary record of old sanctuaries is far from being complete. The new cutting for the Piræus railroad has brought to light inscriptions referring to a hitherto unknown precinct in the Ceramicus.

Mommsen declares<sup>18</sup> that the Olympia were celebrated at the Olympium which was begun by Pisistratus; and he adds that the festival was probably established by him. Of the more ancient celebration in honor of Zeus, the Diasia, he can only say surely that it was held outside the city. Certainly we should expect the older festival to have its seat at the older sanctuary.

The *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως*<sup>19</sup>, which is Mommsen's authority in the passage referred to above, has apparently the same meaning as the *τὰ ἔξω (τῆς πόλεως)* already quoted from Thucydides; *i. e.*, outside of the ancient city—the Acropolis and Pelasgicum. The list of dual sanctuaries, the earlier by the entrance to the Acropolis, the later to the southeast, is quite a long one. We find two precincts of Apollo, of Zeus, of Ge, and, as we shall see later, of Dionysus.

Of Ge Olympia we learn<sup>20</sup> that she had a precinct within the enclosure of the later Olympium. Pausanias by his mention of the cleft in the earth through which the waters of the flood disappeared and of the yearly offerings of the honey-cake in connection with this, shows the high antiquity of certain rites here celebrated. It is indeed most probable that these ceremonies formed a part of the Chytri; for what seems the more ancient portion of this festival pertains also to the worship of those who perished in Deucalion's flood. The worship of Ge *Kourotrophos* goes back to times immemorial. Pausanias mentions<sup>21</sup> as the last shrines

<sup>18</sup> *Heortologie*, p. 418.    <sup>19</sup> THUCYDIDES 126.    <sup>20</sup> PAUS. I. 18. 7.

<sup>21</sup> PAUS. I. 22. 33. SUIDAS, *κουροτρόφος*.

which he sees before entering the upper city, those of Ge *Kour-trophos* and Demeter Chloe, which must therefore have been situated on the southwest slope of the Acropolis. Here again near the entrance to the Pelasgic fortification, is where we should expect *a priori* to find the oldest religious foundations "outside the Polis."

The location of the fourth *hieron* of Thucydides can best be determined by means of the festivals, more particularly the dramatic festivals of Dionysus. That the dramatic representations at the Greater Dionysia, the more splendid of the festivals, were held on the site of the existing theatre of Dionysus, perhaps from the beginning, at least from a very early period, all are agreed. Here was the precinct containing two temples of Dionysus, in the older of which was the xoanon<sup>22</sup> brought from Eleutheræ by Pegasus. That in early times, at least, all dramatic contests were not held here we have strong assurance. Pausanias<sup>23</sup> the lexicographer, mentions the wooden seats in the agora from which the people viewed the dramatic contests before the theatre ἐν Διονύσου was constructed—plainly the existing theatre. Hesychius confirms this testimony.<sup>24</sup>

Bekker's *Anecdota* include mention, also,<sup>25</sup> of the wooden seats of this temporary theatre. Pollux adds<sup>26</sup> his testimony that the wooden seats were in the agora. Photius gives the further important information that the orchestra first received its name in the agora.<sup>27</sup> There can be no doubt that in very early times, there were dramatic representations in the agora in honor of Dionysus; and there must therefore have been a shrine or a precinct of the god in or close to the agora. The possibility of presentation of dramas at Athens, especially in these early times, unconnected with the worship of Dionysus and with some shrine sacred to him, cannot be entertained for a moment. It is commonly accepted

<sup>22</sup> PAUS. I. 2, 5 and I. 20, 3.

<sup>23</sup> PAUS., *Lexikog.* ἱκρια· τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐφ' ὧν ἐθεώητο τοὺς Διονυσιακοὺς ἀγῶνας πρὶν ἢ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον. Cf. EUSTATH. *Comment. Hom.* 1472.

<sup>24</sup> HESYCH., ἀπ' ἀγέλρων.

<sup>25</sup> BEKKER, *Anecdota* p. 354; *ibid.*, p. 419.

<sup>26</sup> POLLUX, VII. 125.

<sup>27</sup> PHOTIUS, p. 106; *Ibid.*, p. 351.

that dramas were represented during two festivals in Athens,—at the contest at the Lenæum and at the City Dionysia. The plays of the latter festival were undoubtedly given in the extant theatre; but of the former contest we have an entirely different record. Harpocration says<sup>28</sup> merely that the Limnæ were a locality in Athens where Dionysus was honored. A reference in Bekker's *Anecdota* is<sup>29</sup> more explicit. Here the Lenæum is described as a place sacred to (ἱερὸν) Dionysus where the contests were established before the building of the theatre. In the *Etymologicum Magnum*<sup>30</sup> the Lenæum is said to be an enclosure (περίουλος) in which is a sanctuary of Dionysus Lenæus. Photius declares<sup>31</sup> that the Lenæum is a large peribolos in which were held the so-called contests at the Lenæum before the theatre was built, and that in this peribolos there was the sanctuary of Dionysus Lenæus. The scholiast to Aristophanes' *Frogs* says<sup>32</sup> that the Limnæ were a locality sacred to Dionysus, and that a temple and another building (οἶκος) of the god stood therein. Hesychius mentions<sup>33</sup> the Limnæ as a locality where the Lenæa were held, and says that the Lenæum was a large peribolos within the city, in which was the sanctuary of Dionysus Lenæus, and that the Athenians held contests in this peribolos before they built the theatre. Pollux speaks<sup>34</sup> of the two theatres, καὶ Διονυσιακὸν θέατρον καὶ ληναϊκόν. Stephanus of Byzantium quotes<sup>35</sup> from Apollodorus that the "Lenaios Agon" is a contest in the fields by the wine-press. Plato implies<sup>36</sup> the existence of a second theatre by stating that Pherecrates exhibited dramas at the Lenæum. If the Lenæa and the City Dionysia were held in the same locality, it is peculiar that in all the passages concerning the Lenæum and the Limnæ we find no mention of the Greater Dionysia. But our list of authorities goes still further. Aristophanes speaks<sup>37</sup> of the con-

<sup>28</sup> HARP. ed. Dind. p. 114. l. 14.

<sup>29</sup> BEKKER, *Anecdota*, p. 278, l. 8.

<sup>30</sup> *Et. Mag.* 'Ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων.

<sup>31</sup> PHOTIUS, p. 101.

<sup>32</sup> Schol. *Frogs*, 216.

<sup>33</sup> HESYCH, Ἀἰμαί · *Ibid.* ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀγών.

<sup>34</sup> POLLUX, IV. 121.

<sup>35</sup> STEPH. BYZ., Ἀθήναιος.

<sup>36</sup> PLATO, *Protag.*, 327 D.

<sup>37</sup> *Achar.*, 202, and schol.

test κατ' ἀγροῖς. The scholiast declares that he refers to the Lenæa, that the Lenæum was a place sacred (ἱερόν) to Dionysus, ἐν ἀγροῖς, and that the word Λήναιον came from the fact that here first stood the ληνός or wine-press. He adds<sup>38</sup> that the contests in honor of Dionysus took place twice in the year, first in the city in the spring, and the second time ἐν ἀγροῖς at the Lenæum in the winter. The precinct by the present theatre, as we know, was sacred to Dionysus Eleuthereus. In this temenos no mention has been found of Dionysus Λίμναιος or Λήναιος.

Demosthenes tells us<sup>39</sup> that the Athenians, having inscribed a certain law (concerning the festivals of Dionysus) on a stone stele, set this up in the sanctuary of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις, beside the altar. "This stele was set up," he continues, "in the most ancient and most sacred precinct<sup>40</sup> of Dionysus, so that but few should see what had been written; for the precinct is opened only once every year, on the 12th of the month Anthesterion."

The stele being then visible to the public on but one day of the year it follows that the entire precinct of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις

<sup>38</sup> Schol. Aristoph. Achar., 504.

<sup>39</sup> Neær. 7

<sup>40</sup> I have translated ἱερόν by precinct. This is liable to the objection that ἱερόν may also mean temple; and ἀνοίγεσθαι, "is opened," of the passage may naturally be applied to the opening of a temple. But "hieron" often refers to a sacred precinct, and there is nothing to prevent the verb in question from being used of a "hieron" in this sense. If we consult the passages in which this particular precinct is mentioned we find, in those quoted from Photius and the *Etymologicum Magnum*, that the Lenæum contains a "hieron" of the Lenæan Dionysus. This might be either temple or precinct. In the citation from Bekker's *Anecdota* the Lenæum is the "hieron" at which were held the theatrical contests. This implies that the "hieron" was a precinct of some size. The scholiast to Achar. 202 makes the Lenæum the "hieron" of the Lenæan Dionysus. Here "hieron" is certainly a precinct. Hesych. (ἐν Λίμναις ἀγρόν) renders this still more distinct by saying that the Lenæum contained the "hieron" of the Lenæan Dionysus, in which the theatrical contests were held. But Demosthenes in the *Neæra* declares that the decree was engraved on a stone stele. It was the custom to set up such inscriptions in the open air. This stele was also beside the altar. There were indeed often altars in the Greek temple, but the chief altar (βωμὸς of the passage) was in the open air. Furthermore, if the decree had been placed in the small temple, the designation "alongside the altar" would have been superfluous. But in the larger precinct such a particular location was necessary. Nor can it be urged, in view of the secret rites in connection with the marriage of the King Archon's wife to Dionysus on the 12th of Anthesterion, that "hieron" must mean temple; since the new Aristotle manuscript tells us that this ceremony took place in the Bucoleum.

must have been closed during the remainder of the year. This could not be unless we grant that, in the time of Demosthenes at least, the Lenæa and the Great Dionysia were held in different precincts, and that the Lenæa and Anthesteria were one and the same festival.

Pausanias tells us<sup>42</sup> that the xoanon brought from Eleutheræ was in one of the two temples in the theatre-precinct, while the other contained the chryselephantine statue of Alcamenes. We know, both from the method of construction and from literary notices, that these two temples were in existence in the time of Demosthenes. Pausanias says<sup>42</sup> that on fixed days every year, the statue of the god was borne to a little temple of Dionysus near the Academy. Pausanias' use of the plural in *τεταγμέναις ἡμέραις* is excellent authority that the temple of the xoanon was opened at least on more than one day of every year.

From all these considerations it seems to be impossible that the precinct of the older temple by the extant theatre and the sanctuary ἐν Δίμναις could be the same. The suggestion that the gold and ivory statue of Alcamenes could have been the one borne in procession at the time of the Great Dionysia is, of course, untenable from the delicate construction of such figures. The massive base on which it stood shows, too, that its size was considerable. The image borne in procession was clearly the xoanon which was brought by Pegasus from Eleutheræ.

Wilamowitz calls attention<sup>43</sup> to another fact. In classic times the contests of the Lenæa are *Διονύσια τὰ ἐπὶ Αἰθραῖς*, and the victories are *νίκαι Αἰθραϊκαί*; the Great Dionysia are always *τὰ ἐν ἄστυ*, and the victories here *νίκαι ἀστυκαί*. These words certainly imply a distinction of place. How early these expressions may have been used, we learn from the account of Thespis. Suidas<sup>44</sup> is authority that Thespis first exhibited a play in 536 B. C.; and the Parian Marble records<sup>45</sup> that he was the first to exhibit a drama and to receive the tragic prize ἐν ἄστυ.

<sup>41</sup> I. 20. 3.

<sup>42</sup> I. 29. 2.

<sup>43</sup> *Die Bühne des Aeschylos*.

<sup>44</sup> *v. Thespis*.

<sup>45</sup> *C. I. G.*, II. 2874.

But it has also been contended that Limnæ and Lenæum do not refer to the same locality. It is clear from what has been said, however, that the Lenæa and the Great Dionysia must have been held in different localities. So if Limnæ and the Lenæum do not refer at least to the same region, there must have been three separate sanctuaries of Dionysus; for no one will claim that the Great Dionysia can have been held in the Limnæ if the Lenæa were not celebrated there. But as we have seen, Hesychius (v. Λίμναι) declares that the Lenæa were held ἐν Λίμναις. The scholiast to Aristophanes says<sup>46</sup> that the Chytri were a festival of Dionysus Lenæus; so the Chytri as well as the Lenæa must have been celebrated in the Lenæum. Athenæus in the story of Orestes and Pandion speaks<sup>47</sup> of the temenos ἐν Λίμναις in connection with the Choes. In Suidas (χόες), however, we learn that either Limnæus or Lenæus could be used in referring to the same Dionysus. Such positive testimony for the identity of the Lenæum and the sanctuary in the Limnæ, cannot be rejected.

We have still more convincing testimony that in the great period of the drama the two annual contests at which dramas were brought out were held in different places, in the record of the time when the wooden theatre ἐν Λίμναις was finally given up and ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀθηνῶν ἀγὼν became a thing of the past. The change comes exactly when we should look for it, when the existing theatre had been splendidly rebuilt by Lycurgus. The passage is in Plutarch, where he says<sup>48</sup> that this orator also introduced a law that the contest of the comedians at the Chytri should take place in the theatre, and that the victor should be reckoned εἰς ἄστυ, as had not been done before. He further implies that the contest at the Chytri had fallen into disuse, for he adds that Lycurgus thus restored an agón that had been omitted. This last authority, however, concerns a contest at the Chytri, the Anthesteria, and is only one of many passages which tend to show that ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀθηνῶν ἀγὼν was held at this festival. The most weighty testimony for making the Lenæa an independent festival, even in historic times, is given by Proclus in a scholium to Hesiod.<sup>49</sup> He

<sup>46</sup> *Acharnians*, 960.      <sup>47</sup> X, 437 d.

<sup>48</sup> [Plut.] *Vit.* 10 *Or.*: LYCURG. *Orat.* VII. 1. 10 p. 841.

<sup>49</sup> PROCLUS to Hesiod, Op. 504.

quotes from Plutarch the statement that there was no month Lenæon among the Bœotians. He adds that this month was the Attic Gamelion in which the Lenæa were held. Hesychius makes the same citation from Plutarch<sup>50</sup> as to a non-existence of a Bœotian month Lenæon, and continues: "But some say that this month is the (Bœotian) Hermæon, and this is true, for the Athenians [held] in this month (*ἐν αὐτῷ*) the festival of the Lenæa." The great similarity of the two passages renders it very probable that both were drawn from the same sources. The omission of Gamelion by Hesychius, by referring the *ἐν αὐτῷ* back to Lenæon, makes him authority that the Lenæa were held in that month. This, in turn implies that Proclus may have inserted Gamelion in order to bring the statement into relation with the Attic months of his own day. In the authorities referring to this month is a suggestion of several facts and a curious struggle to account for them. Proclus cites Plutarch to the effect that there was no month Lenæon among the Bœotians, but, being probably misled by the very passage in Hesiod for which he has quoted Plutarch, he adds<sup>51</sup> that they had such a month. He goes on to state that the month is so called from the Lenæa, or from the Ambrosia. Moschopulus,<sup>52</sup> Tzetzes,<sup>53</sup> and the *Etymologicum Magnum*<sup>54</sup> repeat this last statement. An inscription<sup>55</sup> referring to a crowning of Bacchus on the 18th of Gamelion may refer to the same festival. Tzetzes alone is responsible for the statement that the *Pithoigia* came in this month. Through Proclus and Hesychius we are assured of the belief that there was once an Attic month Lenæon. Proclus, Hesychius and Moschopulus tell us that the Lenæa were at some period held in this month; while Proclus, Moschopulus, Tzetzes, and the inscription assure us that there was another festival of Dionysus in this month; and the first three of these authorities name this festival Ambrosia. A tradition running with such persistency through so many authors affords a strong

<sup>50</sup> HESYCHIUS, *Ἀθηναίων μῆν.*

<sup>51</sup> PROCLUS, *Hesiod Op.* 504.

<sup>52</sup> MOSCHOPUL., *κατὰ τὸν μῆνα τὸν Ἀθηναίων.*

<sup>53</sup> TZETZES, *μῆνα δὲ Ἀθηναίων.*

<sup>54</sup> *Et. Mag.*, *Ἀθηναίων.*

<sup>55</sup> *C. I. G.* i. 523: *Γαμηλιῶνος κειτώσεις Διονύσου θ.*

presumption that there once existed an Attic month Lenæon, and that the Lenæa were celebrated in that month.

Thucydides tells us<sup>56</sup> that the Ionian Athenians carried the festival Anthesteria with them from Athens, and that they continued until his day to celebrate it. The Anthesteria are thus older than the Ionic migration, which took place under the sons of Codrus.<sup>57</sup> The story of Pandion and Orestes from Apollodorus places the establishment of the Choes in the time of this mythical Athenian king. The first and third months of the Ionic year<sup>58</sup> are the same as those of the Attic. There can hardly be a doubt, then, that their second month, Lenæon, was also carried with the emigrants from the parent city, where at that time it obtained.

This gives a time, however remote it may be, when the Athenians still had the month Lenæon, yet we hear of no festival Lenæa among the Ionian cities. It would thus seem that this had lost its force as an independent festival before the migration.

Gamelion is said to have received its name from the Gamelia, the festival of Zeus and Hera. It is hard to believe that while the much more brilliant Lenæa remained in the month, the name

<sup>56</sup>II. 15.

<sup>57</sup>BOECKH, *Vom Unterschied der Len., Anthest. und Dion.* s. 52.

<sup>58</sup>The entire argument on the question of the month is open to the objection that too much weight is given to such men as Tzetzes and all the tribe of minor scholiasts, whose opportunities for accurate knowledge were, in many respects, vastly inferior to those of scholars of our own day. It is easy indeed to say that their testimony is worth nothing. But where shall we stop? It is urged that the connection of the Lenæa with an Attic month Lenæon arose from an attempt on the part of the commentators to explain names as they found them. It is said that this conflict of the authorities proves that there never was an Attic Lenæon. This may be true; and the man who will prove it to be so, and furthermore will give us the accurate history of the Attic and the Ionic calendars, will do a great service to Greek scholarship. But he must have at hand better sources than we possess to-day. Though the later Greek commentators on the classics have made many amusing and stupid blunders, though we need not hesitate to disregard their teaching when it comes into conflict with better authority, or with plain reason, still they have told us that which is true. They often furnish us with all that we know of older and better authors, whose works were their authority. Therefore, unless I have found testimony against them, I have followed their teaching. Both here and elsewhere I give their words for what they are worth; not that I rank Proclus with Thucydides, or the *Et. Mag.* with Aristophanes,—but from the conviction that so remarkable a concurrence of testimony in so many different writers has not yet been successfully explained away, and could not indeed exist unless their testimony were founded on a basis of fact.



should have passed to the always somewhat unimportant Gamelia. What reason could be found for this naming, unless that the Lenæa had first been transferred to the Anthesteria, as all the testimony tends to prove? This supposition gives an easy explanation of the repeated reference to Lenæon as an Attic month, of the change of the name to Gamelion, and even Tzetzes' association of the *Pithoigia* with the Lenæa,—an association which arises necessarily, if the Lenæa once formed part of the Anthesteria. The impossibility of transferring in its entirety a festival which has become rooted in the customs of a people, is also seen. That remnant of the Lenæa in Lenæon, the Ambrosia, survived till quite late in Attic history. It is not difficult, then, to understand why the other references to the Lenæa as a separate festival do not agree as to the month.

A triad of contests is given by Demosthenes<sup>59</sup> where he quotes the law of Euegorus with reference to the Dionysiac festivals: the one in Piræus with its comedies and tragedies, *ἡ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ πομπή* with its tragedies and comedies, and the City Dionysia with the chorus of boys, procession, comedies and tragedies. Here are three different contests in three different places; and the Anthesteria and Lenæa are included under *ἡ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ πομπή*. The purpose of the law was to preserve absolute security and freedom to both person and property on the days of the festivals named. Not even an overdue debt could be collected. In so sweeping a law the Anthesteria could hardly fail to be included; for at no Attic festival was there more absolute liberty and equality. In Suidas<sup>60</sup> we learn that the revellers at the Chytri, going about on carts, jested and made sport of the passers by, and that later they did the same at the Lenæa. Thus he gives another proof of the connection between the two festivals, and shows that *ὁ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγών* became a part of the older Anthesteria after the invention of comedy, and that even then the old custom was kept up. In Athenæus we find<sup>61</sup> the Samian Lynceus sojourning in Athens and commiserated as passing his time listening to the lectures of Theophrastus and seeing the Lenæa and Chytri, in

<sup>59</sup> *Mid.* 10.

<sup>60</sup> SUIDAS, *ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν σκώμματα*.

<sup>61</sup> ATHENÆUS, IV. p. 130.

contrast to the lavish Macedonian feasts of his correspondent. The latter in the same connection says<sup>62</sup> that certain men, probably players, who had filled a part in Athens at the Chytri, came in to amuse the guests. The marriage which he is attending then took place after the Chytri. It is not likely, therefore, that in "the Lenæa and Chytri" he is referring to two festivals separated by a month of time. He speaks, rather, of two acts of the same celebration.

The frogs in Aristophanes claim the *temenos ἐν Δίμναις* and speak of their song at the Chytri. The scholiast cites<sup>63</sup> Philochorus, saying that the contests referred to were the *χύτρινοι*.

A suspected passage in Diogenes Laertius declares (III 56) that it was the custom to contend with tetralogies at four festivals, the Dionysia, Lenæa, Panathenæa, and Chytri. If the passage is worth anything, it adds new testimony that there were dramatic representations at the Anthesteria. The Menander of Alciphron, also, would hardly exclaim<sup>64</sup> over *πολύς χύτρινος*, unless the contest were one in which he, as dramatist, could have a part.

No other of the extant dramas has been so much discussed in connection with the question as the *Acharnians*. Those who hold that the Lenæa and Anthesteria were entirely separate, have affirmed that the play opens on the Pnyx in Athens, that the scene changes to the country-house of Dicæopolis in Chollidæ, at the season of the country Dionysia in the month Posideon. Later the time of the Lenæa in the month Gamelion is represented. Finally the locality is again Athens at the Anthesteria in Anthesterion. In fact, we are told, the poet has, in the *Acharnians*, shown his true greatness by overleaping all restraints of time and place and giving his fancy free rein. But this is making the *Acharnians* an isolated example among the Greek plays which have come down to us. Changes of scene are foreign to the nature of the Greek drama, as is acknowledged by A. Müller.<sup>65</sup>

That the beginning of the play is on the Pnyx, there is no question. In v. 202, Dicæopolis declares: "I will go in and

<sup>62</sup> Ibid. 129.

<sup>63</sup> *Schol. ARIST. Frogs*, 218.

<sup>64</sup> *ALCIPHON Ep. II. 3. 11.*

<sup>65</sup> *Bühnenalt.*, 161.

celebrate the Country Dionysia." This is held to be a statement of the actual time of year represented in this portion of the play, and also to indicate the change of place from Athens to the country. That the country festivals to the wine-god in the different demes were held on different dates, we learn from the fact that companies of actors went out from Athens to make the tour of these provincial festivals.<sup>66</sup> We know, too, that these rural celebrations were under charge of the demarchs.<sup>67</sup> In the passage from the *Acharnians* just cited, there is no statement that this is the season when the demes were accustomed to hold their annual Bacchic celebrations. Rather, in his joy in his newly concluded peace, the hero declares that he will *now* hold this festival in honor of the god of the vine. No surprise is felt at this exceptional date, particularly as, by his statement below,<sup>68</sup> he has been prevented for six years from holding the festival at its proper season. This last passage, however, is the strongest authority for a change of place in the action. Certainly, if the reading is correct, in the light of all the remainder of the comedy we should naturally translate: "in the sixth year, having come into my deme, I salute you gladly." But we do no violence to the construction if we say that *ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸν δῆμον* means "going (*forth*) to my deme." Unquestionably up to the end of the first choral ode at v. 236, the action has gone on in Athens. But here, we are told, comes the change of place. In v. 202 Dicæopolis has declared that he is "going in." What does he enter but his house in the city? At v. 236 the chorus also is in Athens. In v. 237, the voice of Dicæopolis is heard from within—his *country* house, it is said; and in v. 238 the chorus is as suddenly before this same house! Such rapid changes might easily take place on a modern stage, but are of a character to excite remark in an ancient theatre. If there was a change here, the second scene must have represented Cholide with the three houses of Dicæopolis, Lamachus, and Euripides; and the three must be in the same deme; for the Bacchic procession of Dicæopolis appears at v. 241, and is broken up by the chorus at v. 280. As soon as Dicæopolis, by **his by-play, has**

<sup>66</sup> HAIGH, *Attic Theatre*, p. 47.

<sup>67</sup> ΟΕΗΜΙΧΕΝ, *Bühnenwesen*, s. 195.

<sup>68</sup> *Achar.*, 266 f.

obtained permission to plead his cause, he turns (v. 394) to the house of Euripides to borrow the wardrobe of one of the tragic heroes. Then, when his defense has divided the chorus, the first half call upon the gorgon-helmeted Lamachus (v. 566) to bear them aid, and that warrior appears from his house.

Now the common enemy has prevented the celebration of the Country Dionysia for six years. How is it possible, under such circumstances, to conceive of Euripides as composing tragedies in the country? How could the general Lamachus be living out of the city in such a time of danger? Certainly the play itself gives us authority that this scene also is in Athens. At v. 241 Dicaeopolis would go forth with his procession to hold the rural Dionysia in his deme. Prevented from doing so, he is from this on busy with the duties and pleasures of the Choes. His altercation with the chorus and with Lamachus ended, he (v. 623 f.) announces that he will open a market for all Bœotians, Megarians, and Peloponnesians. He sets up (v. 719) the bounds of his markets, and appoints three "himantes" as agoranomi. These officials are suggestive of those busy at the Anthesteria.<sup>69</sup> The first customer, from Megara comes in with: "Hail, agora in *Athens*" (v. 729), and brings for sale pigs suitable for sacrifice at the Mysteries (v. 747 and 764). The Lesser Mysteries came in Anthesterion first after the Anthesteria.

There is no change of place in the course of the action. The scene, the Pnyx with the houses of Dicaeopolis, Lamachus, and Euripides near by, remains the same. There is no indication of a jump in time from Posideon to Gamelion, and again from Gamelion to Anthesterion.

Amid all the preparations for the Anthesteria made in the play, two statements cannot fail to attract attention. In v. 504 f. the poet informs us that this is not the Greater Dionysia, when strangers, tribute-bearers, and allies were present. It is the contest at the Lenæum. In v. 1150 f. the chorus frees its mind concerning the miserly fashion in which Antimachus treated them at a previous celebration of the Lenæa. Shall we say that the poet, in order to speak of things present before the eyes of the Athen-

<sup>69</sup> MOMMSEN, *Heortologie v. Anthesteria*.

ians, steps, in these two passages, entirely outside the action of the play? By no means. The poet is dealing with a vital issue. He is fighting against the ruinous war. The power of his genius is shown by the masterly manner in which he uses the moment which was present to his hearers. The victor at the Choes sat among the spectators; the very walls of the theatre had hardly ceased to resound with the din of the carousers. Here, or elsewhere, there is mention of but one ἐπὶ Ἀθῆναις ἀγών, that is the Lenæa, or the dramatic contest at the Anthesteria.

In fixing the date of the "Dionysia at the Lenæum," we have the authority of some interesting inscriptions which have been collected in Dittenberger S. I. G. II. 374. They are the record of moneys obtained from the sale of the hides of the victims sacrificed at various festivals of the Attic year. A portion of each of four separate lists has been preserved. In the first and fourth of these, as they stand in Dittenberger, three Dionysiac festivals are mentioned: that at Piræus, the Dionysia ἐν ἄσσει, and the Dionysia ἐπὶ Ἀθῆναις. The third list ends with the Dionysia in Piræus. The remaining inscription mentions two Dionysiac festivals, the one at the Lenæum, and that ἐν ἄσσει. The part of the record which should cover the Dionysia at Piræus is wanting. The calendar order of all the festivals mentioned is strictly followed.

Köhler in *C. I. A.*, led by the other inscriptions found with these four, says that the lists do not contain mention of all the festivals at which public sacrifices of cattle were made in that portion of the year covered by the inscriptions, but that these are to be considered only as records of the hide-money which was to be devoted to particular uses. As a matter of fact, however, nearly all the public festivals of importance, as well as some of less note, are included in these lists; and it would be difficult to demonstrate that they do not contain a complete record of the public hide-money for the portion of the year in which these festivals fall.

In these inscriptions the peculiarity with reference to the Dionysia is the same which we find in all other accounts which seem to give a complete record of these festivals. Only three are mentioned as held under public authority. Did the omission of

the Lenæa and Anthesteria occur only in this case, we might, following Köhler, admit that the hide-money from this particular festival was not devoted to this special purpose, and that for this reason the name did not appear in these records. But since in no case are there more than three mentioned; and since the third name is one which covers all celebrations in honor of Dionysus at the Lenæum, this assumption cannot be granted. The important point, and one that cannot be too strongly emphasized, is that neither in these nor in any other inscription or official record is there any mention of the Lenæa or Anthesteria as such. The official language appears always to have been, as here: *Διονύσια ἐπὶ Δελφείοις*, or: *ἡ ἐπὶ Δελφείοις πομπή*, or, where the dramatic contest alone was intended: *ὁ ἐπὶ Δελφείοις ἀγών*. Once only in the 5th century<sup>70</sup> do we find *Λήναια* used; and here it is synonymous with *ὁ ἐπὶ Δελφείοις ἀγών*. Wilamowitz has well said that *Λήναια* as a name of a separate festival is an invention of the grammarians. Aristophanes, in the passage from the *Acharnians*, shows that this name may have been used commonly for the dramatic contest at the Lenæum, and we know from Thucydides that Anthesteria was also used of the entire festival. It is impossible that in a record like the hide-money inscriptions, the official title *Διονύσια ἐπὶ Δελφείοις* should be employed to cover two festivals separated by an interval of a month.

But was the Anthesteria a state festival, at which public sacrifices of cattle were made? The story of its institution by Pandion shows that it was public from the beginning. Aristophanes informs us<sup>71</sup> that it maintained this character; for the Basileus awarded the prize at the Choes. The question of sacrifice requires fuller treatment.

Suidas<sup>72</sup> and a scholiast<sup>73</sup> to Aristophanes quote from Theopompus the story of the establishment of the Chytri. On the very day on which they were saved, the survivors of the flood introduced the celebration of this day of the Anthesteria by cooking a potful of all sorts of vegetables, and sacrificing it to the

<sup>70</sup> *Acharnians*, 1155.

<sup>71</sup> *Acharnians*, 1225.

<sup>72</sup> SUIDAS, *Χύτροι*.

<sup>73</sup> Schol. ARISTOPH., *Frogs*, 218.

Chthonian Hermes and those who had perished in the waters. The scholiast adds that sacrifice was offered to no one of the Olympian gods on this day.

In Suidas we find a hint of the other ceremonies on the Chytri. According to him, there were sacrifices to Dionysus as well as to Hermes. This suggests that the Chytri was but one day of the Anthesteria, and, though the worship of the departed may have been the older portion of the celebration, it was later overshadowed by the festivities in honor of the wine-god. As the text of his argument in his oration against Midias, Demosthenes cites four oracular utterances, two from Dodona, the others probably from Delphi. In the first the god calls upon the children of Erechtheus, as many as inhabit the city of Pandion, to be mindful of Bacchus, all together throughout the wide streets to return fit thanks to the Bromian, and crowned with wreaths, to cause the odor of sacrifice to rise from the altars. In this oracle, Athens is the city of Pandion, because it was reported that under his rule the worship of Dionysus was introduced into the city. This and the other commands from Dodona and Delphi concerning Dionysus refer to the introduction of the worship of the god; for in every one the statement is absolute; there is no reference to a previous worship and a backsliding on the part of the people. *κνισᾶν βομοῖσι* of the first oracle can refer only to a sacrifice of animals. Stronger still is the statement in the fourth oracle (from Dodona) where the command is given to fulfil sacred rites (*ιερά τελεῖν*) to Dionysus, and to sacrifice to Apollo and to Zeus. (*Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀποτροπαίῃ βοῦν θύσαι . . . Διὶ Κτησίῳ βοῦν λευκόν.*) The command "to mix bowls of wine and to establish choral dances," in the second and fourth oracles, serves as an explanatory comment on "return fit thanks to the Bromian" in the first. "Let free men and slaves wear wreaths and enjoy leisure for one day," must refer to the *Pithoigia*. In this feast the slaves had a part, and enjoyed a holiday. Hence the saying<sup>74</sup> "Forth, slaves, it is no longer the Anthesteria." In obedience to the oracles then, public sacrifices could not have been lacking at the Anthesteria. Therefore, this festival must have been officially known as the *Dionysia ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ*.

<sup>74</sup> *θύραζε Κᾶρες οὐκέτ' Ἀνθεστήρια.*

The dramatic contests at the Lenæum, like those at the Great Dionysia, were undoubtedly preceded by sacrifices. The ἀγῶν ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων could hardly be separated from the Dionysia ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων. Therefore the hide-money inscriptions are also authority that Lenæa and Anthesteria are but two references to the same festival.

Thucydides, as we have seen,<sup>75</sup> knew of but two Dionysia in Athens itself; those ἐν ἄστει and the Anthesteria. Of these, using the comparative degree, he states that the latter were the ἀρχαιότερα. In his time the dramatic contests ἐν Δίμναις were in their glory, yet he mentions but one celebration in this locality. So here also we must conclude that Anthesteria was the name of the whole festival which Harpocration tells us was called *πιθολόγια*, *χόες* and *χύτροι*; that there was, in the flourishing period of the drama, no separate festival Lenæa, but that the ἀγῶν at the Chytri came to be so called to distinguish it from that at the City Dionysia.

It is interesting in connection with Thucydides' statement that the Ionian Athenians in his day still held the Anthesteria, to examine the record of this festival in the Ionic cities of Asia Minor. To be sure we have very little information concerning the details of this celebration among them; but we do find two statements of importance. *C. I. G.* 3655 mentions certain honors proclaimed at the Anthesteria in the theatre in Cyzicus. Comparison with similar observances at Athens indicates that theatrical representations were to follow. *C. I. G.* 3044, τῶν ἀγῶνων Ἀνθεστηριῶσιν, refers to Teos. From the constant use of ἀγῶν referring to theatrical performances in connection with the festivals of Dionysus the word can hardly mean anything else here. So these two inscriptions, referring to two colonies, add their testimony that dramas were presented also at the Anthesteria in Athens.

Finally, Aristotle's *Politeia* falls into line with the hide-money records. In § 56, the statement is made that the Archon Eponymus had the Great Dionysia in charge. In the following section, the Archon Basileus is said to have control, not of the Lenæa or of the Anthesteria—for neither is mentioned by name,—but of the Dionysia ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων. The Basileus and the Epimeletæ together directed the procession; but the Basileus alone controlled the

<sup>75</sup> II. 15.



[dramatic] contest. Here again, it is inconceivable that either Anthesteria or Lenæa should be omitted; so both must be included under Dionysia *ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίῳ*.

We thus find our position supported by inscriptions of undoubted authority, and by a list of names ranging in time from before Aristophanes to the 9th century A. D., and in weight from Thucydides and Aristotle to the Scholiasts.

If the Limnæ were not by the existing theatre of Dionysus, where were they? Not on the south side of the Acropolis, as a careful examination of the ground proves. In our study of the theatre-precinct, we found that the earth here in antiquity was at a much higher level than at present, while immediately outside the wall of this precinct to the south, the ground was considerably lower than it is now. The present height of the theatre-precinct is 91.4 m. above the sea level; of the Odeum, 97.7 metres; of the Olympium, 80.8 m.; of the ground within the enclosure of the Military Hospital due south from the theatre, 75 m.; of Callirhoe in the Ilissus opposite the Olympium, 59 m.; of the Ilissus bed opposite the theatre, 50 m. From the present level of the theatre to the bed of the stream there is a fall of more than 41 m.; the fall is about equally rapid along the entire extent of the slope to the south of the Acropolis, while the soil is full of small stones. Surely, it would take more than the oft-cited handful of rushes to establish a swamp on such a hillside. We have, however, excellent geological authority that from the lay of the land and the nature of the soil, there never could have been a swamp there. The Neleum inscription<sup>76</sup> can be held to prove nothing further than that, as Mr. Wheeler suggests, the drain from the existing theatre ran through this precinct. We must therefore seek the Limnæ elsewhere.

We know that from time immemorial the potters plied their trade in the Ceramicus, because here they found the clay suitable for their use. The so-called Theseum is 68.6 m. above the sea-level; the present level at the Piræus railroad station, 54.9 m.; at the Dipylum (and here we are on the ancient level), only 47.9 m. Out beyond the gate comes a long slope, extending till the Ce-

<sup>76</sup> *Am. Journal of Archaeology*, III. 88-48.

phissus is reached, at an elevation of 21 m. So the Dipylum is over 43 m. below the present level of the theatre-precinct; and it is the lowest portion of the ancient city. Here, therefore, in the northwest part of the city, is where we should expect from the lay of the land and the nature of the soil to find the marshes. Out in the open plain beyond this quarter of the city to-day, after every heavy rain, the water collects and renders the ground swampy. With the Dipylum as a starting-point, there is no difficulty in supposing that, in very ancient times, the Limnæ extended to Colonus Agoræus, to the east into the hollow which became a portion of the agora in the Ceramicus, and to the west into the depression between Colonus Agoræus and the Hill of the Nymphs. The exact extent and character of the low ground in these two directions can only be determined by excavating the ancient level, which, as it appears to me, has not been reached by the deep new railroad cutting running across this section north of the so-called Theseum.

The excavations of Dr. Dörpfeld between Colonus Agoræus and the Areopagus, have shown that the ruins and the ancient street at this point have been buried to a great depth by the débris washed down from the Pnyx. Unfortunately, these diggings have not been extensive enough to restore the topography of the west and southwest slopes of Colonus Agoræus.

We have abundant notices, besides those already given, of a precinct or precincts of Dionysus in this section. Hesychius speaks<sup>77</sup> of a house in Melite where the tragic actors rehearsed. Photius repeats<sup>78</sup> the statement almost word for word. Philostratus mentions<sup>79</sup> a council-house of the artists near the gate of the Ceramicus. Pausanias (I. 2. 5), just after entering the city, sees within one of the stoas the house of Poulytion which was dedicated to Dionysus Melpomenus. He speaks next of a precinct with various ἀγάλματα, and among them the face of the demon of unmixed wine, Acratus. Beyond this precinct was a building with images of clay, representing, among other scenes, Pegasus, who brought the worship of Dionysus to Athens. This building

<sup>77</sup> HESYCH. *Μελιτέων οἶκος*.

<sup>78</sup> PHOTIUS, *Μελιτέων οἶκος*.

<sup>79</sup> PHILOSTR. *Vit. Soph.* p. 251.

also was plainly devoted to the cult of the wine-god. In fact, the most venerable traditions in Athens, with reference to Dionysus, centre here. All the various representations here are connected with the oldest legends. Pausanias (I. 3. 1.) says that the Ceramicus had its very name from Ceramus, a son of Dionysus and Ariadne.

We have already seen that an orchestra was first established in the agora. Timæus adds<sup>80</sup> that this was a conspicuous place where were the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which we know to have stood in the agora.

The scholiast to the *De Corona* of Demosthenes<sup>81</sup> says that the "hieron" of Calamites, an eponymous hero, was close to the Lenæum. Hesychius words this statement differently, saying that [the statue of] the hero himself was near the Lenæum. We know that the statues of eponymous heroes were set up in the agora. Here again the new Aristotle manuscript comes to our support, telling us (*Pol.* c. 3) that the nine archons did not occupy the same building, but that the Basileus had the Bucoleum, near the Prytaneum, and that the meeting and marriage of the Basileus' wife with Dionysus still took place there in his time. That the Bucoleum must be on the agora, and that the marriage took place in Limnæan-Lenæan territory, have long been accepted. The location of the Limnæ to the northwest of the Acropolis must thus be considered as settled.

Dr. Dörpfeld maintains that the ancient orchestra and the later Agrippeum theatre near by, mentioned by Philostratus,<sup>82</sup> lay in the depression between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs, but considerably above the foot of the declivity.

From the passage of the *Næera* quoted above we know that the old orchestra could not have been in the sacred precinct of Dionysus Limnæus, for this was opened but once in every year, on the 12th of Anthesterion,<sup>83</sup> while the Chytri and therefore *ὁ ἐπὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀγών* were held on the following day. This involves too that the *Pithoigia* as well as the "contests at the Lenæum" could

<sup>80</sup> TIM. *Lex. Plat.*

<sup>81</sup> DEMOS. *De Corona*, 129, scholium.

<sup>82</sup> PHILOSTRATUS, *Vit. Soph.*, p. 247.

<sup>83</sup> See also THUCYDIDES above.

not have been celebrated in the sanctuary ἐν Λίμναις, though portions of each of these divisions of the Anthesteria were held in the Lenæum, which contained the Limnæan "hieron."

The Lenæum must lie ἐν Λίμναις, and therefore on the low ground. A passage in Isæus (8. 35) is authority that the sanctuary of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις was ἐν ἄστει; *i. e.*, within the Themistoclean walls. So we have it located within narrow limits, somewhere in the space bounded on the east by the eastern limit of the agora in Ceramicus, south by the Areopagus, west by the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs, and north by the Dipylum.

From the neighborhood of the Dionysiac foundations and from allusions mentioned by Pausanias immediately upon entering the city, we may be justified in locating this ancient cult of Dionysus ἐν Λίμναις still more exactly, and placing it somewhere on or at the foot of the southwestern slope of Colonus Agoræus. More precise evidence of its site we may obtain from future excavation; though as this region lay outside the Byzantine city-walls, the ruins may have been more or less completely swept away.

In view of its position outside of the gate of the ancient Pelasgic city, by the wine-press, we understand why the contest in the Lenæum was called a contest κατ' ἀγρούς. Because enclosed later within the walls of Themistocles, the Limnæ were also referred to as ἐν ἄστει. Situated as they were in the territory of the agora, we see why, although the Archon Eponymus directed the City Dionysia, the Archon Basileus presided<sup>84</sup> over the Anthesteria, and therefore over "the contest at the Lenæum"; and the agoranomes, the superintendents of the market-place, whose duties were confined to the agora, ἐπετέλεσαν τοὺς χύτρους.<sup>85</sup>

In closing, it may not be without interest to review the picture presented of the most ancient Athens. Behind the nine-gated Pelasgic fortifications lay the city, with its temples, its palace, "the goodly house of Erechtheus," and its dwellings for the people, remains of which can even now be seen within the Pelasgicum. Immediately without the gate stood the Pythium, the Olympium, the temple of Γε Κουροτρόφος, and other foundations. Directly

<sup>84</sup> POLLUX VIII. 89, 90. (ἐν τῷ τῷ ἄστει. Ἰολιεῖα.)

<sup>85</sup> MOMMSEN, *Heortologie*, p. 30. note.

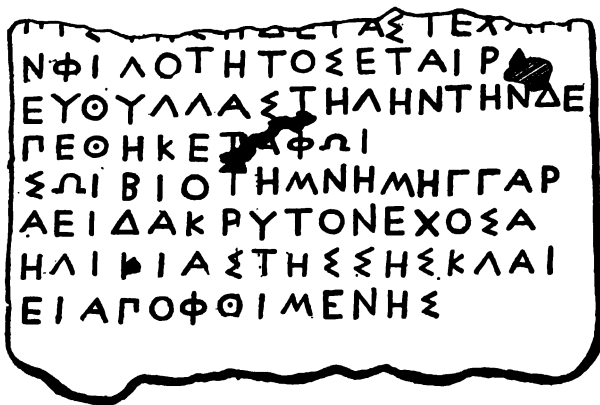
before the entrance, some two hundred paces from the city-walls, was the spring Enneacrunus, whose water was most esteemed by the citizens. Not far from this was the wine-press. Here the people built the first altar, the first temple, the first orchestra, and instituted the first festival in honor of the wine-god, long before the new Dionysian cult was brought in from Eleutheræ; and here for centuries were raised every year about the orchestra tiers of wooden seats in preparation for the annual dramatic contests.

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Athens, 1891.

## A SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTION FROM ATHENS.

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On the 4th of last January a dealer in antiquities in Athens brought me a fragment of Pentelic marble bearing a metrical sepulchral inscription. He said that it was found near the Hagia Trias church, *i. e.*, in the Ceramicus. The stone is smooth on the face and on the sides, rough on the back and broken off in an irregular horizontal line on the top and bottom. The top fracture runs through the middle of the first line, leaving, however, a part of every letter, so that it is quite legible. Four letters in the other lines are slightly defaced, but not erased. The bottom fracture runs about .015 m. below the last line of the inscription. The stone is, in general, .06 m. thick, .15 m. high. At the bottom the width is .246 m., at the top 242; the width is the width originally given by the stone-dresser. It will be noticed that it tapers toward the top. There are no traces of color. I bought the stone, after convincing myself of its indubitable genuineness. I gave it lately to the National Museum at Athens.



This copy of the inscription is made directly from the stone, being traced through a paper impression and compared afterward

with the original. In minuscules, in later spelling, and arranged with regard to its metrical form, it is as follows :

Πιστῆς ἡδέας τε χάρι | ν φιλότῆτος ἑταίρα |  
 Εὐθυλλα στήλην τήνδ' ἐ | πέθηκε τάφῳ  
 σῶ Βιότη μνήμην γὰρ | ἀεὶ δακρυτὸν ἔχουσα |  
 ἡλικίας τῆς σῆς κλαί | εὶ ἀποφθιμένης |

“ *Because of faithful and sweet friendship, thy companion Euthylla has placed this stone upon thy grave, Biote ; for thy memory she forever cherishes with tears as she laments for thy perished youth.*”

The inscription probably belongs to the early part of the fourth century B. C. It has been compared carefully with many inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries, public and private, in the National Museum and elsewhere in Athens.<sup>1</sup> It has been compared with all the accessible late fifth century inscriptions quoted by Köhler in his article, *Die attische Grabsteine des fünften Jahrhunderts;*<sup>2</sup> and in the forms of the letters and the arrangement of the whole it shows an advance upon those inscriptions. The characters, in general, are post-Euclidean. Γ and Λ appear instead of λ and λ . Η is no longer the *spiritus asper*, but is η<sup>3</sup>. Ω is in use. There is no sign for the *spiritus asper*, as we see from ΕΤΑΙΡΑ. All the letters of the post-Euclidean alphabet are exhibited except ζ, ξ and ψ, which are not needed in this inscription. The forms for these letters in documents of the early fourth century are Ι, Ξ and Ψ<sup>4</sup>. The arrangement is στοιχηδόν. Ο is used to denote ο and the pseudo-diphthong ου.

<sup>1</sup> A public document recording an act of the year B. C. 408 (*CIA*, IV, p. 166, 62<sup>b</sup>) is in characters which closely resemble those of this epitaph. Lolling, who first published that inscription in the *Δελτιον Ἀρχαιολογικόν*, 1838, pp. 206-207, speaks of the characters as post-Euclidean, and notes their appearance in this document as peculiar. Kirchhoff, in *CIA*, I, c., says, *Indies enim crebrescente illa aetate Ionicae litteraturae usu facile potuit fieri, ut etiam non iussi populi decreto lapicidae pro arbitrio ea uti occiperent.*

<sup>2</sup> *Mith. Athen*, x, p. 359 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Compare ΗΟΡΟΞ | ΚΡΕΝΕΞ, *CIA*, IV, p. 51, 499<sup>a</sup>; KÖHLER, *Mith. Athen*, II, p. 183. See MEISTERHANS, *Gram. d. att. Inschriften*, § 3, 6.

<sup>4</sup> For Ι see *CIA*, II, 5; for Ξ, *CIA*, II, 3; for Ψ, *CIA*, II, 2 and 5. These inscriptions are in the National Museum in Athens, and closely resemble this epitaph in lettering. Compare MEISTERHANS, § 3, 4.

These facts agree with an early date in the fourth century.<sup>5</sup> It is true that the Ionic alphabet was used in Attic sepulchral inscriptions as early, at least, as the beginning of the Peloponnesian war, and this epitaph might therefore be of the fifth century; yet, in the absence of internal evidence to the contrary, inherent probability justifies us in assigning it to the early part of the fourth century.

The letters are well cut, being sharp and true in line, and, with a few exceptions, well shaped. Most of them are one cm. in height. Θ Ο Ω are a little less than that. The slanting strokes of Κ do not reach to a level with the ends of the hasta. The outside strokes of Μ are at an angle with the vertical, and the upper and lower strokes of ξ are slanting. In Ν the angles are not on a level with the ends of the vertical strokes. Ω is rather clumsily made.

So far as the literary form of the inscription is concerned, we have a graceful and well written epigram consisting of two elegiac distichs. The diction is poetical and the rhythm musical. I have noted a few features of versification, chiefly in the light of Professor Allen's article *On Greek Versification in Inscriptions* in Vol. iv of the *Papers of the American School*. Final *a* in Εἴθυλλα is long by position before initial στ, no case of which is cited by Allen<sup>6</sup>; *a* in δακρυτόν is short before κρ.<sup>7</sup> The elision of final *ε* in τήνδε is exhibited graphically.<sup>8</sup> Final *ν* in μνήμην is assimilated by the influence of the following initial γ.<sup>9</sup> There is a case of weak hiatus in κλαλει ἀποφθιμένης.<sup>10</sup> Ἀποφθιμένης closing the inscription and an elegiac distich will be noted by all who are familiar with sepulchral epigrams as illustrating a favorite use of either ἀποφθίμενος or φθίμενος.

The name of the deceased, Βιώτη, is one which is found occasionally in inscriptions, but not frequently. It is given by E.

<sup>5</sup> REINACH, *Traité d'Épigraphie grecque*, pp. 296, 261; ROBERTS, *Greek Epigraphy*, I, p. 104.

<sup>6</sup> ALLEN, as above, *Papers*, IV., pp. 79-99.

<sup>7</sup> ALLEN, p. 81.

<sup>8</sup> ALLEN, p. 141. Compare MEISTERHANS, § 23.

<sup>9</sup> MEISTERHANS, § 41.

<sup>10</sup> ALLEN, pp. 105-107; HADLEY-ALLEN, *Greek Grammar*; 75 D. e.



Curtius<sup>11</sup> as one of the rarer female names *delatus ex schedis meis et diurnis atticis*. It is found in two inscriptions, one possibly, and the other certainly, from Smyrna.<sup>12</sup> It occurs in at least nine inscriptions cited by Koumanoudes.<sup>13</sup> In five instances the person thus named was from Heraclea, while the sixth<sup>14</sup> came from Miletus, and the nativity of two<sup>15</sup> is unknown. One only was from an Attic deme.<sup>16</sup> To these may be added at least one in the *Corpus Inscr. Atticarum*,<sup>17</sup> nativity unknown, not cited by Koumanoudes. The name also occurs, as it is well known, in the inscription discovered by Dr. Waldstein in Eretria something over a year ago.<sup>18</sup> A masculine name, Βίωτος, sometimes occurs. Pape<sup>19</sup> cites several instances, one from an Attic deme.<sup>20</sup> In Koumanoudes it appears as the name of a Milesian.<sup>21</sup>

The name Εὔθυλλα is found here, so far as I know, for the first time. I cannot discover it in Pape, or in any of the indices. The masculine Εὔθυλλος occurs in a Delphian inscription.<sup>22</sup>

The monument before us is a private grave-stone of the more modest class erected by a woman named Euthylla in honor of a young friend named Biote. That she was young we are justified in inferring from ἡλικίας ἀποφθιμένης. The word ἑταίρα is used

<sup>11</sup> CURTIUS, *Inscriptiones Atticae duodecim*, IX.

<sup>12</sup> *CIG*, II, 8148, 8227.

<sup>13</sup> Κουμανούδης, 'Αττικῆς ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι, 918, 1706, 1707, 1708, 1709, 1710, 2077, 2691, 2692.

<sup>14</sup> Κουμανούδης, 2077.

<sup>15</sup> Κουμανούδης, 2691, 2692.

<sup>16</sup> Κουμανούδης, 918: Βίωτη | Κτησιου | Ὀθηεν | γυνή. See also CURTIUS, as cited, in Note 11.

<sup>17</sup> *CIA*, II, 3553.

<sup>18</sup> [B]IOTH | [A]ΡΙΞΤΟΤΕΛΟΥ. See Professor RICHARDSON'S report above, p. 69, and Dr. WALDSTEIN in *Nineteenth Century* for 1891, p. 848. I copy the inscription from a paper impression which I made in Eretria on April 8, 1892. The stone is entire, but corroded on the surface on the left side.

<sup>19</sup> PAPE, *Griechische Eigennamen*, s. v. *Blortros*.

<sup>20</sup> Ὀη. Compare Note 16 above. <sup>21</sup> Κουμανούδης, 2078.

<sup>22</sup> WESCHER and FOUCART, *Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes*, 403, line 8.

here simply to designate an intimate friend and companion, in the same earlier and nobler sense in which it was used by Sappho :

Τάδε νῦν ἐταίρας  
ταῖς ἔμαισι τέρπνα καλῶς ἀείσω (Fr. 11) and  
Λάτω καὶ Νιόβα μάλα μὲν φίλαι ἦσαν ἐταῖραι (Fr. 31)

These fragments are both from Athenæus, who discusses the earlier and later meanings of the word.<sup>23</sup> The word ἐταῖρος is used in the same sense in the following sepulchral inscription :

Ἄνθεμίδος τόδε σῆμα · κέκλετ' στεφανοῦσιν ἐταῖροι  
μνημείων ἀρετῆς οὐνεκα καὶ φιλίας  
Ἄνθεμίδος  
Ἡροφίλη'

In this case also we have a stone erected either by various friends of Anthemis or by Herophile, one of these friends. A similar instance is perhaps to be found in the inscription :

Οἰάνθη. Ἄρισταγόρα<sup>25</sup>

Several instances of stones erected by friends of the deceased are given by Kaibel.<sup>24</sup>

I have characterized the stone as one of the more modest class. It may be interesting to inquire what its form may have been. It was not a large stone, as we see from the dimensions of the fragment. It diminished in width slightly as it rose. It was surmounted, perhaps, by a gable-shaped top like a pediment, or by an anthemion painted or carved. This gable or anthemion would be connected by a moulding with the tablet below. Just under the moulding may have been the short inscription of possibly three lines, giving Biote's name in the nominative, her father's

<sup>23</sup> *Deipn.* XIII., 571. Compare MAHAFFY, *Social Life in Greece*, Chap. IX p. 284. The fragments are given by BERGK, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, under the numbers 11 and 31, but he reads *κάλως* and *τραίραι*. I have followed the common reading in these words.

<sup>24</sup> *CIA*, IV., p. 114, No. 491<sup>b</sup>. Compare KAIBEL, *Epigr. Gr.*, No. 73; *Mitth. Athen*, x, p. 363 (Köhler); *Κουμανούδης*, 2961.

<sup>25</sup> *CIA*, II, No. 4044. Very meagre details are given of this inscription.

<sup>26</sup> *Epigr. Gr.*, Nos. 488, 619 (from Rome). Possibly we have a similar case in 484, the monument of Kitylos and Dermys.

name in the genitive, her *ethnikon*, if she was a foreigner, her *demotikon*, if she was an Athenian. Or some inscription like *Βιότη --- ου, χρηστέ, χαιρε* may have been placed here. Immediately below may have been painted or carved in low relief some scene in which the friends Biote and Euthylla were grouped as they sometimes had been in life. The reserve of the period of art to which the stone belongs would give us a simple group. We might have Biote sitting, with Euthylla standing before her, clasping her hand, exhibiting the *δέξωσις* as a sign of the affection expressed in words in the epitaph. The epitaph would come below the picture or the relief. If there were no work of the pencil or chisel, the epitaph would follow the first inscription with an interval which might be decorated with rosettes or left plain.<sup>27</sup>

It is fruitless, perhaps, to make any inquiry as to who the persons were whose names appear on this stone. But, after observing the facts noted above, I am tempted to make one or two suggestions. It is an extraordinary thing that the stone was erected by a friend, not by a member of the family of the deceased. From this fact, it would seem to be possible that the dead Biote was not an Athenian, and perhaps that she was from some rather distant region, living in Athens without her family. We have noted that the name is found chiefly among foreigners. Possibly Biote was a slave, one superior in charms of person, mind and heart. The use of *ἐραῖπος* for a fellow-slave is as old as Homer.<sup>28</sup> This stone is evidently one of the humbler sort, though vying with any in the simplicity and sweetness of its sentiment, and in the exquisite form of its expression. We have noted that the name Biote is found oftener from Heraclea than from any other place, and it is well known that in the fifth and fourth centuries there were many

<sup>27</sup> Compare tablet No. 856 in the National Museum at Athens, given in *CIA*, II, 3, pp. 216-217, No. 2724; also No. 86, of an earlier period, given in *CIA*, IV., p. 113, No. 477, k. See STACKELBERG'S *Gräber der Hellenen*, Plates III-VI; PERVANOGU, *Grabsteine der alten Griechen*; BAUMEISTER, *Denkmäler*, I. s. v. *Gräber* (Julius), FRIEDERICH-WOLTERS, *Bausteine d. gr. Plastik*, pp. 326-328, with literature there cited.

<sup>28</sup> *Olysey*, XIV. 407, 418; XV. 307. Somewhat reluctantly we may find it not to be impossible that Biote was an *ἐραττα* in the later special sense of the word, though the word used in the epitaph has not that meaning. We must remember that this class of persons included Aspasia.

slaves in Athens, and that they came largely from foreign lands, including the various countries on the Pontus.<sup>29</sup>

Perhaps I have written more fully of this simple stone than its content will seem to warrant, but it has interested me greatly. Few inscriptions tell so much in so little space, in so good a form. But apart from this, apart from the one new name Euthylla that we meet here, apart from the epigraphical, metrical and grammatical facts illustrated, apart from the suggestions as to reconstruction of the monument, and as to the persons whose names here appear, we are justified in lingering for a few moments over this humble tribute to human grief and human love. For these are peculiar neither to us nor to ancient Athens. These give us fellowship with all ages and with all men. The little stone fell and was buried for centuries. The love that created it lives on forever. 'Η ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε πίπτει.

WILLIAM CAREY POLAND.

American School of Classical Studies,  
Athens, 2 June, 1892.

<sup>29</sup> GILBERT, *Gr. Staatsalterthümer*, I, p. 163, who cites Ctesicles as quoted by Athenæus, VI., 272, B. There were 400,000 slaves in Attica in B. C. 409. See also BÜCHSENSCHÜTZ, *Besitz und Erwerb*, I, Chap. 3, and particularly pp. 118-119. Of course as several places bore the name of Heraclea, it would be unfair to assume that every Βύρνη Ἡρακλειῶν came from Heraclea on the Pontus. See *Collection of Greek Inscriptions of the British Museum*, Part I, p. 149, No. 100 (Hicks' note).

## A TORSO FROM DAPHNE.

[PLATE XXIV.]

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The torso which by the kindness of the Ephor-General of Antiquities, Mr. Kabbadias, I am allowed to publish in this article, was found in the summer of 1892, in the Pass of Daphne, at the western end, near the temple of Aphrodite, in excavations conducted by Mr. Kabouroglos for the Archæological Society of Athens. It is noticed in the *Deltion* of 1892, p. 49, as *κορμὸς νεανίου ἀρχαϊκῆς τέχνης*, a designation which is not only inadequate, considering the importance of the object, but incorrect. It cannot properly be called archaic.

The torso is of Parian marble, and is somewhat more than two-thirds life size. The only significant dimension that can be given exactly is the length of the body from the bottom of the neck to the *membrum virile*. This dimension is .36 m. The figure is therefore somewhat smaller than the ephebus from the Acropolis, a cut of which is given in Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque*, p. 374. It coincides more nearly in size with the Ptoïan Apollo published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (1886, plate VI), except that the latter has an abnormally long body. Owing to the breaking off of the left leg and the right arm, with some of the body adjacent, it is impossible to give either the breadth of the shoulders or of the hips, or even the girth of our torso. Even the right leg is so broken as to leave no clear traces of the situation of the knee; but the thigh seems to have been longer in proportion to the body than was the case in the Ptoïan Apollo.

There can be little doubt that the figure was meant to represent an ephebus, not so much from its small size as from the general

build. Plate XI represents the figure from two different points of view.

We see at once that we have before us a portrayal of intense exertion. In the absence of head, legs, and arms, it might seem preposterous to try to discover what the action is. When so little is preserved it might seem open to doubt whether the figure was standing upright or lying on its face or its back, or was brought to its knees, or whether it stood singly or facing an antagonist, either victorious or *in extremis*. Neither can we tell what it may have held in hands that are now gone. But, in spite of all this, an approximation to a reasonable interpretation may perhaps be made.

Let us notice more closely the position of our figure. The right leg is advanced very vigorously beyond the right shoulder; but the right arm was thrown back, as is shown by the flatness of the right breast compared with the left, the greater prominence of the ribs on the right side, and the rolling together of the muscles of the back adjacent to this shoulder. But while the left leg, of which we have not even a stump, was thrown far back, as the strained abdomen shows, the left shoulder (and this is the characteristic feature of the position) is thrown so far forward that when we look at it edgewise, taking the upper body *en flanc*, we see the lower body *en face*. The left arm, judging from the remaining stump, must have been extended forward and with a downward inclination directly in front of the *pubes*.

By this contrasted motion of the arms and the legs an antagonism is brought about between the upper and lower halves of the body; and yet, were all the missing limbs present, we should see a controlling symmetry in the whole figure, including a chiastic responsion of right arm and left leg, as well as of left arm and right leg, which we can *now* partly see.

The furrow running down the middle of the front of the body bends sharply from right to left, while on the back the furrow runs downward from left to right, drawn over to the right side by the forward tension of the right leg. Cf. Brunn, *Monuments de la Sculpture Grecque et Romaine*, No. 249, where the furrow is deeper than in our figure. The head was bent somewhat to the right.

A. Of the intensity of the action there can be no doubt. As to the kind of action, a half-dozen or more possibilities present themselves.

1. The attitude of the Munich athlete pouring oil into his extended left hand (Brunn, *op. cit.*, No. 132) is somewhat parallel. But, as it does not approach this figure in intensity of action, it may be dismissed at once.

2. That it was a sandal-binder, like the Lysippian Hermes in the Acropolis Museum (*Mittheil. arch. Inst., Athen. Abtheil.*, XI, Taf. IX), supposed, before the head was found, to be a charioteer, or like the so-called Jason (Brunn, *op. cit.*, No. 67), is hardly possible. The inclination of the head of our figure to the right is not a significant difference. Some of the replicas of Jason in Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, vol. v, plate 814, also have the head turned to the right. But the feet of our figure are clearly out of reach of the hands. However much the right leg were bent at the knee, that foot would be too far away to be brought up within reach even of the left hand, with its favorable slant given by the sloping shoulder. And, as for the left leg, we have seen that this was far in the rear.

3. The attitude of tension might suggest a charioteer, with the right hand, which usually held the goad, brought back at a moment when the application of the goad was not called for, and when the whole strength of the left arm, and more, too, was called into requisition to hold the horses. But it is not likely that the left leg would be thrown so far back when a strong brace was needed to support the left arm. In the Acropolis bronze, representing probably a charioteer (*Jahrbuch d. d. arch. Inst.*, I, 173), we see the left leg, as we should expect, braced to support the left arm, and the right arm also reinforcing the left in reining in the horses. In our figure the right arm was thrown too far back to have been so used.

The left shoulder thrust out over the right leg, with the left leg thrown back, so far from being a bracing attitude, is less so than that on the strength of which Friedrich Hauser (*Jahrbuch d. d. arch. Inst.*, II, p. 95 ff.) threw out the Tux bronze from the category of charioteers. The whole attitude of our figure is not that of strength exerted backwards, but of strength in onset.

4. The possibility that this is a wrestler must be conceded. Neither hands nor feet are preserved, and among the numerous *σχήματα* of wrestling, something parallel to this position might be found. But it would seem strange that the right arm should be far in the rear at the moment when a wrestler was making a fierce movement to the right. Moreover, before resorting to the idea of a group, for which we have no warrant, we ought to try to explain the figure by itself. This consideration might also make us pause before resorting to the idea of a boxer or of a warrior in combat.

5. The great objection to accepting the theory that the figure is a boxer, is the contradiction in that case between the left shoulder, which is thrown forward as much as it can be without dislocation, and the arm, which seems to turn downward. But even if we are mistaken as to the direction of the arm, and the left hand is to be thought of as planting a blow, what can the left leg be doing, skulking in the rear at such a critical moment?

6. If we wish to explain the figure as that of a warrior, a natural parallel would be that of the Naples Tyrannicides. Of these two figures (Brunn, *op. cit.*, Nos. 326, 327), Harmodius resembles ours more in the position of the legs, while Aristogiton resembles it more in the position of the arms, though neither has the intensity of action here shown. But these illustrate the fact that a man does not attack criss-cross, but throws a whole side into the onset. The Borghese Warrior (Brunn, *op. cit.*, No. 75) has his legs and arms distributed more nearly like our figure, but his left arm is much more raised, and his head turned to the left. Of course it is recognized that he is not in onset, but is watching an antagonist with a view to making an onset. A nearer parallel is found in a figure from the Mausoleum frieze.<sup>1</sup> The parallel would be complete were the left shoulder thrown a little more around to the front, and the right arm more to the rear. A single glance reminds us that the figure in the frieze is running rather than fighting. The warrior from Delos in the Central Museum at Athens (Brunn, *op. cit.*, No. 9) might claim a comparison, but he is altogether too much bent over toward the right knee, and the left leg is not nearly far enough to the rear.

<sup>1</sup> OVERBECK, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, 4th Ed., Vol. 11, plate opposite page 107; 2nd group of 1st series.



7. Perhaps the first thought of nearly everyone on first looking at our figure would be that we have here a discobolus, largely perhaps because we have come to take Myron's discobolus as the natural example of strained effort. A more careful look will easily convince us that we have not *Myron's* discobolus before us, if we take, as we well may, the Massimi discobolus (Brunn, *op. cit.*, No. 256) as a copy of Myron's famous bronze. The arms and head afford an exact parallel, but the body is bent forward and the left leg not carried so far back. Of course a discobolus may assume a variety of attitudes. We have one indeed in the form of a herm, exhibiting thus a very stable equilibrium for Myron's most delicate balance (Brunn, *op. cit.*, No. 329). No other discobolus would be likely to afford so near a parallel to our figure as the Massimi copy. The quiet discobolus of the Vatican (Brunn, *op. cit.*, No. 131) is no more a case in point than an unpublished bronze from the Acropolis, holding the discus in both hands above his head, or a similar one in the British Museum given in Murray, *History of Greek Sculpture*, Vol. I, p. 234.

In one way only could we conceive of our figure as a discobolus, viz., as in the act of launching the discus with his left hand. There is in a vase-painting published in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1878, pl. xi, a figure throwing the discus with the left hand, but this left-handed thrower stands almost if not quite alone among discoboli.

8. The theory that the figure is a dancer, is one which it may be still more difficult to reject. The Pyrrhic dance especially was one requiring energetic motions. The Naples Faun (Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Vol. iv, pl. 717, No. 1715 A) is in much the same attitude as our figure, but the left arm is too much raised and not enough to the front. The same may be said of the Faun presented in Clarac, Vol. II, pl. 179, No. 170. A small unpublished Acropolis bronze has the legs like our figure and the left hand raised above the head, as for a dance.

9. However possible and even attractive other explanations of the figure may be, the simple and just one seems to be that it is a runner. We see the right leg thrust forward, likewise the left arm thrust forward to balance it, and so far to the front as to give the last possible moment in which this attitude can be maintained.

The left leg and right arm are to the rear, but just ready to take the place of those limbs that have held the front as long as they can. The arms are used in the action for their full value, just as they are in pictures of runners in vase-paintings (Cf., *Monumenti Inst.*, x, pl. 48 m). It is noteworthy that in this, as in most vase-paintings, the arm and the leg of the same side go forward together. We might call the runners "rackers"; so in some early bronzes, as in Carapanos, *Dodona*, pl. xi. This scheme may be explained from a desire to show the body in front and the legs in profile. Most of the runners, however, in *Monumenti Inst.* x, pl. 48 e3, are running naturally like our figure, except that the left leg is the one thrown to the front. Our runner is running at his full speed, and not stooping forward at a goal, as is perhaps the Naples runner in Clarac, v, pl. 863, No. 2196 A, the attitude of which is something like that of the figure in the East pediment of the Ægina temple, stooping forward to pick up the fallen warrior.

Sculptors, who were so much devoted to athletes, could not fail to notice that it was the runner who caught the popular eye. Xenophanes (ii, 17, Bergk) says of running:

τό πέρ ἐστι πρότιμον  
ῥώμης ὄσσ' ἀνδρῶν ἔργ' ἐν ἀγῶνι πέλει.

It is not strange that we hear especially of the Ladas of Myron, and that the hoplitodromus Epicharinus of Critius and Nesiotes is singled out for attention by Pausanias. In Athens especially did running come to honor, and at the lampadodromia of several festivals the ephebi had their separate running matches. We need not be surprised, then, to find an Attic ephebus sculptured as a runner.

It is not strange that attempts have been made to reduce to runners figures that have long passed as something else. Hauser's argument above referred to, maintaining that the Tux bronze represents not a charioteer but a hoplitodromus just drawing up to pass the turning-post, is accepted as convincing by both Overbeck and Collignon in their recent histories of Greek sculpture. With the Tux bronze must go an Acropolis bronze still unpublished, so much like it as to pass for a replica. The attempt of Rayet in *Monuments de l'Art Antique* to make of the Borghese Warrior also a hoplitodromus has not proved equally convincing.

B.—The attempt to assign this figure its place in the history of sculpture is made difficult by the lack of a head. It may happen that a head has a more or less archaic appearance than a body which belongs with it. Archæologists will not forget the case of the Ptoïan Apollo above referred to, the body of which, found a year before the head, seemed so little archaic that there was little thought of dating it back of the middle of the 5th century, whereas the head was so archaic as to make the discoverer, M. Holleaux, almost willing to resort to the doubtful explanation of the statue being a copy of an earlier one, in order to harmonize that archaic head with an inscription declared to be from the middle of the 5th century (see *Bull. de Corr. Hellén.*, XI, p. 285 sq.)

A head might modify judgment in either direction as to the age of this torso, but judging by what we have, and proceeding with caution, if not with diffidence, we may propose a place for it. It is almost certain, when we take into account the subdued technic, the restraint shown in working out the muscles, that we have no late work. The contortions of Laocoon, of the figures in the Pergamon reliefs, or of the votive offerings of Attalus, find no nearer parallel here than do the negligent poses of Praxiteles' figures. The action is the great thing.

The intensity of the strain reminds one of Myron. Myron's devotion to the expression of life through movement seems to confront us here. What Quintilian (II. 13. 10) says of the discobolus, *distortum et elaboratum*, seems applicable. Had we the legs and arms preserved, we should see more of movement; but legs and arms are not the only bearers of movement. The body, the very centre of the physical frame, shares the movement, not as a subsidiary partner, but as the originator of the action. Of Myron's Ladas, the runner, Brunn (*Gesch. der gr. Künstler*, I. p. 150) says: *Der Ausdruck der höchsten Lebendigkeit beruhte also hier hauptsächlich auf dem scharfen Erfassen der Wechselwirkung aller Theile in einem einzigen Moment in welchem die gesammte Lebensthätigkeit wie auf einen Punkt zusammen gedrängt erscheint.* This passage read with our torso before us seems almost like a running commentary on it. Myron delighted in seizing a single moment of activity which in a flash must turn to something else, and we have seen that our statue is in just that position. Nowhere do we get a clearer

illustration of what Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 58) meant when he said that Myron was *in symmetria diligentior* than Polyclitus. It took more care to adjust this strained body than those quiet figures or Polyclitus. How could a figure be more symmetrically adjusted than this?<sup>2</sup>

To say that this torso is Myronian would be *ein grosses Wort gelassen auszusprechen*, but if restraint in form and utmost daring in position, *de l'audace et encore de l'audace*, is Myronian, we might almost bring the *grosses Wort* over our lips. It is perhaps not too much to say that if the sculptor who made the original of the Massimi discobolus were to make a runner he would make him like this. In fact, from what the ancients say, we should suppose that Ladas looked something like this.

But, besides this general similarity of attitude to Myron's figures, our figure has at least one special feature of style which we may bring to the support of our designation of Myronian. The style in general is certainly not opposed to this designation. Quintilian's *molliora* (*Inst. Orat.* xii. 10.7) applied to Myron does not disclaim for him something of the spare and severe style of his predecessors, the old Attic sculptors. The *pubes* hair is a most important criterion. Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 58) says of Myron: *Capillum quoque et pubem non emendatius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituisse*. In default of a head we are directed to the peculiarity of the *pubes* hair. We might hope to find in this some of the old-fashioned style of Myron. We do, in fact, find a most striking peculiarity here, which seems to have appeared in sculpture only at or about the time of Myron. Not to mention the fact that the hair is wrought only in a sketchy manner, its shape arrests attention at once. It may be described as consisting of two parts, a lower part forming a sort of ring about the *membrum virile*, and an upper part in the form of a flat isosceles triangle with its equal sides somewhat concave. This is the description which

<sup>2</sup> For a commentary on the passage quoted from Pliny, see BRUNN, *Geschichte der Griechischen Künstler*, p. 153; also KEKULÉ, *Ueber den Kopf des Prazitelischen Hermes*, p. 16: *Ich glaube es soll durch die Worte, wie sie überliefert sind in der That der Preis einer grösseren Schwierigkeit, der Preis eines höheren Aufwandes von Mühe und Fleiss in der Erreichung der Symmetrie den lebhafter bewegten Myronischen Gestalten gegenüber den ruhigeren und einförmigeren des Polyklet zuerkanni werden.*

Hauser (*Jahrbuch d. d. arch. Inst.* II. p. 105) applies word for word to the Naples Tyrannicides, which are generally supposed to be copies of the work of Critius and Nesiotes, and to date from the time immediately following the Persian War. Hauser calls attention to the same peculiarity in the Tux bronze, and on the strength of it claims the figure for a copy of the Epicharinus of Critius and Nesiotes. This Tux bronze has usually been regarded as belonging to the Æginetan School, and this suggests a comparison on the point under discussion with the fallen warrior of the East Ægina pediment (Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, plate IV) where, with the exception of a slighter concavity of the sides of the triangle, the coincidence is exact. Graef (*Mittheil. arch. Inst. Athen.*, xv, p. 12) would extend the peculiarity also to the Olympia temple-sculptures, although it is doubtful whether the concavity appears there at all. It is a striking fact that a vase-painting of Euphronius in Hartwig's *Meisterschalen des strengen rothfigurien Styls* shows the same peculiarity of form. This vase for the exactness of the reproduction of which in this particular Hartwig vouches verbally, may be dated at about 470 B. C. Plates LXII 2 and LXIII 2 of the same work show exactly the same peculiarity. Less perfect examples may also be seen in plates XXVI, XLVII and XLIX. All these examples seem to put this peculiarity into a period of some fifty years, with the Persian War about in the middle, and in the latter part of which Myron would fall.

There is then no rashness in finding for our figure or its original a date as far back as that of Myron. The question whether our figure is a copy or an original work is one that forces itself next upon our consideration. If it is a copy, it is still of great value as material for the history of sculpture, allowing us to picture to ourselves how one of Myron's runners looked. But it is perhaps an original work of Myron. Although he seems in general to have shunned marble, our record is far too incomplete to allow us to reject the possibility of his having wrought the figure himself. The general impression which one receives at first glance, and which is deepened by repeated contemplation, is that it is not the hand of a copyist that we see here, but that of a master.

Possibly it may be difficult, when we descend to details, to make an array of items strong enough to convert this impression

into a conviction. Still it is well to call attention to the combination of a general hardness of manner with a softness of modelling in the breast, a combination which a copyist would have been likely to miss. The figure also shows nowhere a plane surface, the nearest approach to it being at the right breast. To prevent this wooden appearance the hip has a gentle hollowing out, as has also the thigh on the inside.

The abdomen consists of three perpendicular hollows and two ridges. The back, which is a masterpiece of modelling, has also three hollows with corresponding ridges. There is a deep hollow under the left shoulder. The line of demarcation between the hips and the body is almost lacking. We see here none of that appearance of the fat of the body falling down over the hips which appears in many statues. There is a double swell of muscle extending across the body above the navel, and a single one below it. The triangle of the *pubes* is echoed by a slight triangle enclosing the navel. The furrow down the middle of the breast is interrupted by one considerable swell and another almost imperceptible one above and below it. One hardly knows where to bestow the most praise—on the back, the chest, the abdomen, or the remaining thigh. It is the master's hand alone that gives all the details in perfection. There is plenty of room for this figure in the list of Myron's works given in Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 57), under the phrase *Delphicos pentathlos*. It would also not be unnatural that a work of Myron's art should be found along the Sacred Way, the main thoroughfare overland from Athens not only to Eleusis but also to Delphi and all the world besides.

RUFUS B. RICHARDSON.

American School of Classical Studies at Athens,  
January, 1894.

## A SACRIFICIAL CALENDAR FROM THE EPAKRIA.

[PLATE XXV.]

In the excavations at Koukounari, in the Attic Epakria, a report of which will be given in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, we had the good fortune to find at the end of the first half-hour of work an important inscription.

This is cut on a *stèle* of Pentelic marble, in letters averaging .006 m. in height. Beta runs up to a height of .008 m., while Omicron is only .004 m. high. The extra height of Beta is doubtless due to the fact that only so could it well be cut without making mere breaks in the place of the two loops.

The *stèle* was inscribed on both sides, but only on the side which we found turned downward and resting on a large threshold, and which is here represented, could anything be read. A few traces of letters on the other side, from which with some probability the word *ols* may be made out, and some price-marks, show that the same subject was treated on that side.

The side here given contains parts of fifty-six lines, although the first line affords only two letters. How much of the stone is broken off above and below cannot be told. At the sides the original edge is preserved, so that we know that the taper of the *stèle* was very slight, giving a breadth at the bottom of the fragment of .49 m. and at the top of .485 m. The length is .60 m. The thickness varies between .10 m. and .06 m. being thinner at the top and toward the right, so that there is a distinct slope toward the right upper corner when the stone is laid on the table for reading. There is a break on the right at the top, leaving a gap which ends with the 21st line, the 22d line being entire at the end. At the 4th line the gap is .105 m. wide. Toward the bottom

of the gap it becomes easy to supply missing letters. On the left side, although the edge of the stone remains, there is a surface break of varying width running down the whole length. It is .06 m. wide at the 7th line, .115 m. at the 47th, .09 m. at the 52d. A maximum of twelve letters is missing where this gap is widest; but as the inscription is not cut *stoichedon*, there is in most cases a choice ranging between nine letters and twelve. The inscribed surface of the stone is .39 m. broad at the 23d line and .40 m. broad at lines 52-54.

A curious feature of the inscription is that it is divided very unevenly into two columns, the right-hand column being about double the width of the left-hand column. Furthermore, the columns overlap somewhat, and some lines look as if they ran continuously across the stone, there being absolutely no intervening space between the last letter of the first column line and the first letter of the second column line.

The right-hand column may practically be read entirely. The left-hand column is more difficult to restore than might be expected with the help afforded by the other column. But even here a good deal may be provisionally supplied. ]ουβάτω, in line 50, is especially tantalizing.

*Restorations, Column 1.*

2. π]ρακτήριος is used as an epithet of Τύχη, Aesch. *Suppl.*, 523.

4 ff. τρίτης, which entails the following month names, was suggested by τεάρτης, 20. But, as at 27-29 a quarter is omitted in the enumeration, the restoration is not certain. It fills the space, however, better than δευτέρας, with the month names of the second quarter.

25. τρίτη is given simply as one way of filling the space.

26. 'Απόλλωνι<sup>1</sup> is demanded by the space, whereas in 34 there is room only for Δί or τῶ.

39. δραμοσύνη is probable, but we know next to nothing of the connection at this point.

52. Δι Εύβ]ολεῖ would naturally be supplied, except that it would not fill the whole space.

55. 'Αθηναία 'Ελλω]τιδι seems the only proper restoration.

<sup>1</sup> 'Απορόπαιος as epithet of Apollo, Ar. *Vesp.* 161; Av. 61; *Plut.* 359, 854.





30	τετάρτης	τριμῆνο	Μουνιχίωνος	να	IC		30
	-	-]η	αἰξ	ΔΤΤ	Σκιροφορίωνος	πρὸ	Σκίρων
	-	-]ειον	ΔΤΤ (?)	α οἷς	ΔΤΤ	Κοροτρόφῃ	χοῖρος
	-	-]τετάρτης				οἷς	ιερώσυνα
	τριμῆνο	Μο]νιχίωνος				Τριτοπατρῆσι	ΤΤ
	Διὸ ἀποτροπ]	αἰψ	αἰξ	ΔΤΤ	οἷς	ΔΤΤ	ιερώσυνα
	-	-]οἷς	ΔΤΤ	τάδε	τὸ	ἔτερον	ἔτος
	-	-]νει	οἷς	ΔΤΤ	ομββαίωνος	'Αθρηαῖά	'Ελλωπιδι
	πρώτης	τριμῆ(?)	]ν[ο]		οἷς	τρεῖς	ΔΔΔΤΤΤ
	-	-	-		Κοροτρόφῃ	οἷς	ΔΤ
	-	-	-		Δαφνηφόρου	ΠΤΤ	
	-	-]σο[	]νη		τάδε	τὸ	ἔτερον
	δευτέρης	τριμῆνο	Πινανομίδωνος	να	Τετραπολεῖδι	ὑπέρτα	δραμοσύνη
	-	-]β]οἷς	Ρ	ΔΔΔΔ	'Εκατομββαίωνος	'Αθρηαῖά	'Ελλωπιδι
	τρίτης	τριμῆνο	Γαμηλιώνος	Κοροτρόφῃ	χοῖρος	ΤΤΤ	ιερώσυνα
	-	-]ιδψ	ὑς	κίουσα	ΔΔ	Μεταγεγνιτώνος	'Ελευσινά
	τετάρτης	τριμῆνο	Μουνιχίωνος	Κόρη	κρίος	ΔΤΤ	χοῖροι
	-	-]Νύμφα	Εὔει	αἰξ	ΔΤΤ	να	ΠΤΙΙΙΙ
	-	-]ψ	κρίος	ΔΤΤ	Διὸ ἀθθαλέ	οἷς	ΔΤΤ
	-	-]αἰξ	ΔΤΤ		'Ανθεστηριώνος	'Ελευσινά	ὑς
	-	-]η	κρίος	ΔΤΤ	ιερώσυνα	ΤΙ	Χλόη
	-	-]ουβιάτψ	αἰξ	ΔΤΤ	ΔΔ	ιερώσυνα	Τ
	-	-]οἷς	ΔΤΤ		Σκιροφορίωνος	πρὸ	Σκίρων
	-	-]ολει	οἷς	ΔΤ	ιερώσυνα	ΤΤ	φρέατος
	-	-]νος			τράπεζα	Τ	
	-	-]οἷς	ΔΤΤ		Τρικορυθοῖ	τάδε	δρα
	'Αθρηαῖά	'Ελλωπιδι	χοῖρος	ΤΤΤ	Μεταγεγνιτώνος	'Ηρ[α]	βοῖς
	-	-]οἷς	ΔΤΤ				

## Column 2.

5. *μυστηρίων* is corroborated by its connection with *Βοηδρομιώνος*.

13, 15. *οἷς ΔΤΤ* is selected simply as one way of filling up the space.

17. *Γῆ ἐπὶ τῷ* is somewhat crowded, but as *Γῆ* appears in 13 with this epithet, and as she was essentially a mantic divinity (Cf. Aesch. *Eum.*, 2, *τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαίαν*), the reading may well stand. It is also difficult to get a name shorter than *Γῆ*.

19, 20. The difficulty of supplying the five or six missing letters at the end of 19 is increased by the fact that the clear Ν Ε at the beginning of 20 seem cut with the point of a knife, mere scratches, while X, given as the next letter, is quite doubtful.

The first line which is really of account (line 2), with the help of line 23, tells us that the demarch of the Marathonians sacrifices something. We soon see that we have a series of offerings to divinities with prices and certain specified dates. All the Attic months except *Maimakterion* are mentioned.<sup>3</sup> The year is divided into quarters (*τρίμηνοι*). At lines 34 and 40 there is a division of the sacrifices into *τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος, προτέρα δραμοσύνη* and *τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος, ἰστέρα δραμοσύνη*. The word *δραμοσύνη*, so far as I know, is not used elsewhere. It is probably a ritualistic term, and may be translated "course."<sup>3</sup> *τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος* probably means "the alternate year." The "first course" is to begin at once, and the "second course" the next year, and they are to alternate.<sup>4</sup>

The first question in regard to the inscription is whether it is a sacrificial calendar of offerings to be made, or a record of offerings already made. The minute account, descending to such

<sup>3</sup> We have in line 51 the settlement of the date of the festival called *Skira*, in the month *Skirophorion*, which calls for a correction of Liddell and Scott (*Lex.*, 7th ed., s. v. *Σκίρα*), and of Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 287 ff., which put it in *Pyaneption*.

<sup>3</sup> It is probably derived from *δράω*. With the same right as that by which we have from the stem *ἄπραγ* *πράγμα* and *πολυπραγμοσύνη*, we may have from *ἄπρα* *δρα δραμοσύνη* as well as *δράμα*.

<sup>4</sup> In the inscription from *Cos* in *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, IX, p. 328, we have three times (at lines 10, 14 and 22), after one provision for sacrifice, another offering prescribed with the phrase *τὸ δὲ ἄτερον ἔτος*.

details as half obols, and the indicative mode of the verbs, make it look at first sight as if we had one of those accurate Attic accounts of expenditures so well known from the Corpus.<sup>5</sup> But in spite of this there seems no reason to take it as anything else than one of those sacrificial calendars, of which there were a great number at Athens, mentioned by Lysias in the oration against Nicomachus, as well known.<sup>6</sup> Such calendars must have been common enough at every place where sacrifice was made on a large scale. We have several fragments of such calendars from various places. Notable are the following:<sup>7</sup>

Fragments from Myconus, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 373.

Fragments from Cos, *Jour. of Hell. Studies*, vol. ix, p. 323 ff.

*CIA.* I, 4, 5. 533, 534. II<sup>1</sup>, 610, 631, 632. III<sup>1</sup>, 77.

*Inscr. in Brit. Mus.*, I, 73.

The general similarity of the whole group makes it difficult to separate any of them as belonging to a different class. The indicative mode is used in the Cos and Myconus calendars, interspersed among the greater bulk of imperatives and infinitives. A sum of twenty drachmas for victims is mentioned in the Myconus calendar, and in *CIA.* II<sup>1</sup>, 610 and 631, the prices are given with much the same minuteness of detail as here.

In this inscription, *ὡς γέγραπται* of line 15, looks like a provision to which conformity is to be exacted. Similarly in the Cos calendar stands *Ῥέα δὲς κνεῦσα καὶ ἱερά ὄσσα περ τοῦ Πεδαιγετινίου γέγραπται.*

The following is a list of the divinities to whom offerings are made:

*Ἄθηναια Ἐλλωτίδι.*

*Ἀκάμασιν.*

*Ἀχαία.*

*Γαλίῳ.*

*Γῆ.*

*Γῆ ἐγ γύαις.*

*Γῆ ἐν Κυνοσούρα.*

*Γῆ ἐπὶ τῷ μαντείῳ.*

<sup>5</sup> *E. g.*, *CIA.* II<sup>2</sup>, 885, 886.

<sup>6</sup> *Lys.*, XXX. 17. *Θέειν τὰς θυσίας ἐκ τῶν κίρβων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν κατὰ τὰς συγγραφάς.*

<sup>7</sup> *Cf.* J. PROT, *Fasti Graecorum Sacri.*

Δαίρα.  
 Διὶ ἀνθαλεῖ.  
 Διὶ ὀρίῳ.  
 Διὶ ὑπάτῳ.  
 Ἐλευσινία.  
 Ἡρα.  
 Ἡρα.  
 Τῷ Ἡρα.  
 Ἡρα Φηραίῳ.  
 Ἡρα παρὰ τὸ Ἑλλάτιον.  
 Ἡρα ἐν . ρασιλείᾳ.  
 Ἡρώνη.  
 Ἰόλεϛ.  
 Κόρη.  
 Κοροτρόφῃ.  
 Μοίραις.  
 Νεανία.  
 Νύμφᾳ Εὐεῖ.  
 Τελετῇ.  
 Τριτοπατρῆυσι.  
 Ὑττηνίῳ.  
 Χλόη παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου.  
 ]ολεῖ.  
 ]ουβάτῳ.  
 ]παρὰ τὸν πύργον.  
 ]παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον.  
 ]παρὰ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον.  
 ]τῷ ἐν Κυνοσούρα.  
 ]ἐν ἀγορᾷ.  
 Ἄπ]οτροπαίῳ.  
 Π]ρακτηρίῳ.

It will be seen at once that the main interest of the inscription lies in its large number of interesting and unusual names. Some of them, so far as I have been able to ascertain, do not occur elsewhere. Such are :

Ζεὺς ἀνθαλεύς.  
 Γῆ ἐγ γύαις.

Νεανίας.  
 Νύμφη Εύς.  
 Ἴηρος Φηραῖος.  
 Γάλιος.

Ἄνθαλεύς presents Zeus apparently in the rôle of a farmer, which fits well the rurality in which the whole inscription is steeped. Γῆ ἐγ γύαις, a phrase comparable to Διώνυσος ἐν Λίμναις, is another case in point. Εύς is easily seen to be derived from the Bacchic cry, but who is Νεανίας? Γάλιος and Ἴηρος Φηραῖος are equally obscure. Possibly some light may come on the latter name from the fact that Artemis had the surname Φηραία at Argos and Sicyon.<sup>8</sup> There is also a quaint doubling of some persons. Ἀκάμαντες seems unheard of. Perhaps it is equivalent to Ἀκαμάντιδαι. Τριτοπατρέις is less striking, as we have the plural in CIA. II<sup>2</sup>, 1062.<sup>9</sup> But Cicero<sup>10</sup> speaks of Tritopatrus as the brother of Dionysus and Eubouleus. Is it possible that Δαφνηφόροι, in line 38, is a similar plural for Apollo and one or more doubles? In that case the dative might be explained on the supposition of the omission of the mention of the victim, as in line 4 after τράπεζα, and in 32 after οἷς, the price is omitted, perhaps by carelessness of the stone-cutter.

Ἐλλωτίς, as an epithet of Athena, has a flavor of antiquity. It carries us back at least as far as the Phœnicians. It was a name of Europa<sup>11</sup> as Ἐλλώτια was the name of a festival in Crete.<sup>12</sup> It was also the old name of Gortyna in Crete.<sup>13</sup> The same may be said of Ὑττήμιος, for Ὑττηνία was the ancient name of the Marathonian Tetrapolis.<sup>14</sup> Ἀχάια, as an epithet of Demeter, the "mourning mother," and Δαίρα, as an epithet of Persephone,<sup>15</sup> are at least rare. The same may also be said of Κουροτρόφος as a substantive, although it is common enough as an epithet of Ge,<sup>16</sup>

<sup>8</sup> PAUS., II, 23, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Mitt. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. Athen, IV (1879), p. 287.

<sup>10</sup> De Nat. Deorum, III, 53.

<sup>11</sup> Et. Mag., s. v. Ἐλλωτίς.

<sup>12</sup> HESYCHIUS, s. v. Ἐλλωτίς.

<sup>13</sup> STEPH. BYZ., s. v. Γόρτυν.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., s. v. Τετραπόλις. See W. GURLITT, De Tetrapoli Attica.

<sup>15</sup> Persephone appears again under her usual name, Κόρη, and Demeter probably under the name Ἐλευσινία and Ἰλθή, if not under Κουροτρόφος.

<sup>16</sup> PAUS., I, 22, 3. AR. Thes. 299. SOLON, Frag., 43 (Bergk).

and later, perhaps, of Demeter.<sup>17</sup> In *CIA.* II, 481, line 59, it is indeed used substantively referring to Ge.

The designation *Χλόη παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου*<sup>18</sup> reminds one of similar designations of locality in the inscription given in *Eph. Arch.*, B'. p. 362: *πρὸς τῷ Μύρμηκι* and *πρὸς τῷ ἀνδροφόνῳ Κώνῳ*. It belongs to a community where everybody knew everybody else.

*Τελετή*, the daughter of Dionysus and Nicaea,<sup>19</sup> is, if not old, an unusual figure.

There is another list of names that is redolent of Marathon. *ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ Μαραθωνίων*, twice repeated, would be enough. But we have also :

*Τρικόνυθος.*  
*Τετραπολεῖς.*  
*Τὸ Ἡράκλειον.*  
*Ἵππημιος.*  
*Ἑλλωτίς.*  
*Ἐν Κυνοσούρα.*  
*Ἴόλεως.*

The Herakleion is probably the identical Herakleion mentioned by Herodotus (VI, 108, 116) as the place where the Athenians awaited the attack of the Persians. *Ἵππημία* was, as we have already seen, the ancient name of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. The first explanation of the word *Ἑλλωτίς*, given by the scholiast to Pindar, *Ol.* XIII, 56, is *τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην ἐσχηκέναι φασὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἔλους ἔνθα ἱδρύνται*.<sup>20</sup> That *Κυνοσούρα* is the point closing in the bay of Marathon on the northeast seems in this connection more than possible. Iolous is prominent enough in the *Heracleidae* of Euripides, where in the plain of Marathon he defends the persecuted children of

<sup>17</sup> *CIA.* III, 372, 373. Inscriptions on chairs in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens.

<sup>18</sup> *παρὰ* with the acc. in this phrase, and in *παρὰ τὸν πύργον*, *παρὰ τὸ Ἑλλώτιον*, *παρὰ τὸ Ἡράκλειον* and *παρὰ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον*, which are similar examples of designating position, seems to prove that the distinction between *παρὰ* with acc. and *παρὰ* with dat., on which lexicographers are fond of insisting, is somewhat fanciful.

<sup>19</sup> NONNUS, XLVIII, 886. See *Τελετή* on a relief *V.* Bötticher, *Baumkultus der Hellenen*, Fig. 48. Athenian Central Museum, No. 1890.

<sup>20</sup> *Et. Mag.*, s. r. *Ἑλλωτίς*.

Heracles. In fact, that plain was so associated with Heracles<sup>21</sup> and his train that, according to the scholiast to Soph. *O. C.* 701, the Spartans saved the Tetrapolis in their invasions of Attica during the Peloponnesian War, *διὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας*. The temptation is strong to bring *παρὰ τὸν πύργον* also into connection with the foundations in the middle of the plain of Marathon now known as the *πύργος*. But it is better not to weaken a strong case with mere possibilities.

Was our stone, then, set up originally in the Marathonian plain and afterwards brought up to the place where we found it? At first glance it almost seems as if it must be so. And yet so strong is the presumption that a large *stele* remains where it is set up, that it seems necessary to account if possible for its original presence here. Perhaps Milchhöfer's theory, that here lay Hecale,<sup>22</sup> is correct. In that case we have a centre for sacrifice for all the demes lying round about. For Plutarch (*Thes.*, xiv.) says: *Ἔθνον γὰρ Ἐκαλήσιον οἱ περίξ δῆμοι συνιόντες Ἐκάλη Διὸς καὶ τῆν Ἐκάλην ἐτίμων*. This case of other demes sharing in the sacrifices of the deme of Hecale is characterized thus by Stengel in Müller's *Handbuch*, v. 3, p. 83: "Eine seltene Ausnahme ist es dass andere ganze Demeen sich betheiligen." Now, if any demes were to share sacrifices with a deme that lay at Koukounari, the most natural candidate for such communion was the Marathonian Tetrapolis. It is just about two hours' walk from either the northern or the southern part of the Marathonian plain to this point. In fact, from Vrana it is not more than an hour and a half. The inscription itself is singularly tantalizing on the point of locality. Line 2 says that the demarch of the Marathonians is to sacrifice *ἐν*—but just what we wish to know is broken off. Again, in line 23, when we think the same chance is coming again, the phraseology is changed just at the critical point, and it

<sup>21</sup> PAUS. I, 32, 4. *Μαραθῶνιοι φάμενοι πρώτοις Ἑλλήνων σφίσιν Ἡρακλέα θεὸν νομισθῆναι*. The association of Heracles and Athene Hellotis suggests that Heracles, who came to Athens with such popularity in early times as to have several temples, and to become the prominent figure in the old poros gable sculptures, came from Marathon, where he was brought to shore by the Phœnicians. This is quite as likely as an advent from Corinth.

<sup>22</sup> *Demenordnung des Kleisthenes*, p. 21 f. For a contrary view see LOEPER, *Mitth.*, 1892, p. 384 f.



is now *θύει Ἡρῶ ἐν*. What is still more disappointing is that the name which follows is an entirely unknown one, *.ρασιλεία*, with one letter lacking at the beginning (perhaps *Φρασιλεία*).

Our *stèle* does indeed contain allusions to some sacrifices that were actually performed in the Tetrapolis. *Τρικορυνοῖ*, in line 54, must be taken as a locative, since the datives of the second declension throughout the inscription end in *φι*.<sup>23</sup> But where there was a great central point for sacrifices for the neighbors, there might well be set up a general record of sacrifices to be made, including other places than this. It may be that duplicates of this *stèle* were set up at other places near by. Would that we had found the heading!

It is true that our *stèle* does not even name Hecale, but we have only a part of the original bulk of the inscription, and it must, I think, be conceded that Milchhöfer's identification has gained greatly by our discovery of three more reliefs<sup>24</sup> in addition to the two which he had already found at the same place.

Besides, this place, in spite of the objections of Loeper (*l. c.*), is the natural last halting-place on the direct road from Athens to Marathon, the natural scene of Theseus' taking his last refreshment from the nymph Hecale before descending into the plain to meet the Marathonian bull.<sup>25</sup>

If this identification be accepted, we get a very natural explanation of the Heroine who is so often referred to in the inscription. She might well be Hecale. The Hero without an epithet might then be Theseus. If, however, we seek our hero in the Marathonian plain, we are embarrassed by the multitude of candidates. The eponymous hero Marathon, Heracles, Echetaeus, or even others of the Marathonomachoi, might claim the honor.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For *α* used as a dative ending along with *ῶι*, see CAUER, *Delectus*, No. 138, line 16: *ἐπὶ Κηφισῶι ἐν τοῖς λεπῶι*. This is, to be sure, not Attic, but Eubœan. But see MEISTERHANS, *Gram. Att. Inscr.*, § 21, 11. In regard to the place, it is striking that at Trikorynthos, the especial place of refuge for the Heracleidae (Diod. Sic., iv. 57), Hera, the great enemy of Heracles, should be worshipped. The reconciliation must have been complete.

<sup>24</sup> One of the reliefs has a group that might be considered to be Hecale welcoming Theseus. From the joined hands of the two larger figures seems to proceed downward something like a club, while a smaller figure of an adorante stands by. We noticed the club before we thought of this application of the relief.

<sup>25</sup> PLUT., *Thes.* xiv.

<sup>26</sup> PAUS., i, 32, 4, 5.

We need exercise no violence to exclude this inscription from a Marathonian *provenance*, for if it comes from Marathon it is an important document in the somewhat obscure history of the Tetrapolis. Of considerable interest in this connection is the allusion in line 39 to Euboulus as archon for the inhabitants of the Tetrapolis. This corroborates the inference drawn by Lolling from an inscription found at Marathon, and published in the *Mittheilungen* for 1878, p. 259 ff. From the fact that a certain Lysanias of *Trikorynthos* is there spoken of as archon for the Tetrapolis, Lolling concludes that an organization of these four demes was kept up for religious purposes long after the merging of all old independent communities into a general state.<sup>27</sup>

This leads us to the question of the date of our inscription. When we came, in our first attempts at reading the stone, to this mention of the archonship of Euboulus, we thought we had a reference to the well known Attic archon and a fixed date, 345-44 B. C. We were quite as much surprised as gratified at this, for the other *indicia* seemed to point to an earlier date. It was only by supposing language to be more conservative in a rural district than at Athens that we could reconcile these with so late a date. It was not so much the particular forms of the letters that led us to the impression that the stone belonged to the first half of the fourth century as the general appearance and the orthography.  $\mathcal{M}$  and  $\mathcal{X}$ , with their outside bars oblique rather than perpendicular and horizontal, are less significant than the small  $\sigma$  and the  $\mathcal{N}$  with its bottom angle not coming quite down to the lower level of the line. These all, however, and the absence of ornamentation, point to an early date, to which the absence of *stoichedon* writing is no objection.

But more specific is the testimony of the orthography. The genitives in the second declension generally end in  $\sigma$ , although we have  $\text{Μειδύλου}$  in line 49 and  $\text{]μενου}$  in line 25.<sup>28</sup> We have also  $\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$  for  $\chi\acute{o}\iota\varsigma$  in 45 and 50. In 52  $\text{]ολει}$  is probably for  $\text{Βουλει}$  or  $\text{Εύβουλει}$ .  $\text{Κοροτρόφος}$  is used six times, while the form

<sup>27</sup> He also adduces *CIA.* II, 602, 603 as evidence of a similar organization for the Mesogaea.

<sup>28</sup>  $\text{ἐνιαυτοῦ}$ , in line 14, looks like the stonecutter's error for  $\text{ἐνιαυτόν}$ , as  $\text{ἐκαστον}$  precedes.  $-\nu\sigma$  in 22 is not quite sure; but a genitive here would match an apparent gen. pl.  $-\omega\sigma$  in 28.

Κουροτρόφος is used only twice. This indicates a date before rather than after 360 B. C.<sup>29</sup> The *ou* in *κίουσα*, as well as the inconsistency in *Κουροτρόφος*, might modify the certainty of this judgment somewhat.

The genuine diphthong *ou* appears also as *o* in *βός*, which is used five times, while *βοῦς* appears only four times. This phenomenon is noted as occurring in many cases during 440–357 B. C.<sup>30</sup>

The following is a list of objects for which money is expended, and the various sums :

αἶξ. Δ††  
 βός. } Ἄ ΔΔΔΔ  
 βοῦς. }  
 βοῦς κίουσα. Ἄ ΔΔΔΔ  
 κριός. Δ††  
 οἷς. Δ†† and Δ†  
 οἷς κίουσα. ΔΠ† and ΔΠ||  
 τράγος παμμέλας. ΔΠ  
 ἕς κίουσα. ΔΔ  
 χοῖρος. †††  
 θήλεα ? Δ†  
 ἀλφίτων ἐκτεύς. IIII  
 οἶνο χός. No charge.  
 τράπεζα. †  
 ἱερώσυνα. † to Π††IC  
 φρέατος. Π†  
 Δαφνηφόροις. Π††  
 τὰ ὄραια. No charge.  
 σπυλια. ΔΔΔΔ

The offerings are for the most part the usual sacrificial animals, the most common being the sheep, which occurs thirty-one times; and in one case (line 36) three sheep are offered at once. Besides this, the ram is mentioned six times, and once, in line 27, is followed by *θήλεα*<sup>31</sup> instead of the ordinary word *οἷς*. This makes of sheep, male and female, thirty-eight examples.

<sup>29</sup> MEISTERHANS, *Gram. Att. Inscr.*, p. 21, § 11 (c.), 20.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49, § 20, 2.

<sup>31</sup> For the form with *ε* instead of *ει*, see MEISTERHANS, *Gram. Att. Inscr.*, p. 31, § 15, 11. The reading is not quite certain. There is hardly room, however, for *ει*.

The next most frequent offering is the pig, mentioned nine times, once, in line 44, three in a single offering. A sow with young is mentioned three times. Next in order of frequency come kine. In most cases we cannot tell whether cows or oxen are meant. Kine are mentioned nine times, including one instance, line 9, of a cow with calf. Next comes the goat, with six cases, and in line 18 an all-black he-goat. The divinity here proposed in the restoration, Ge, is more or less chthonic, and so corresponds well to the black victim. Of more unusual offerings we have τὰ ὄραια, the fruits of the season, with no price given, as if it were a trifle, perhaps, like the χούς of wine, for which also no price is given. An offering must indeed be of very small value to have the price omitted on this score, when the peck of barley at four obols was recorded. Comparable with τὰ ὄραια is the phrase in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 377, line 15: ἄλλα ἀπάργματα ὧν αἱ ὄραι φέρουσιν. Cf. also, *CIA.* II, 1055, line 8, ἐκ τῶν ὄραίων, and 1056.

A table is mentioned several times, but not in connection with any greater divinity, unless Κουροτρόφος be such, but only with heroes and the *Tritopatres*. In one case, line 53, it is all that the *Tritopatres* get. This sacrificial table is often mentioned in inscriptions.<sup>32</sup>

In *CIA.* II, 836, frags. a and b, line 23, among gifts to Asclepius, mention is made of τὴν ἀνάθεσιν καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν τῆς τραπέζης. But that so many tables are mentioned in our inscription is a little surprising.

The peck of barley, which is mentioned twice, is doubtless the barley thrown upon the victims from the time of Homer down.

Ἱερώσυνα is used twenty times, always after the mention of the offering, but by no means after every sacrifice. The price attached to it varies from one drachma, lines 46, 50, up to seven drachmas one obol and a half, line 22. The word is generally understood to designate the priests' perquisites.<sup>33</sup> It is worth noting that the

<sup>32</sup> *Jour. of Hell. Stud.*, IX, p. 334, lines 9 and 10; *CIA.* I, 4, lines 19 and 20; II, 681, several times.

<sup>33</sup> BOECKE-FRAENKEL, *Staatshaushaltung*, II, p. 108. It is one feature of the inscription which makes it look more like an account than like a calendar, that these perquisites should be priced so exactly.

amount bears no relation to the size of the offering. The two highest prices, in lines 21 and 22, are paid when only a sheep is sacrificed. In line 46, with the same sacrifice, go *ιερώνυνα* of only one drachma. To be sure the largest offering (in line 36) to Athene Hellotis, of an ox, three sheep and a pig, carries with it large *ιερώνυνα* of at least six drachmas. More may follow, but the stone is here worn away.

The inscription mentions no large sacrifices like hecatombs, and in spite of the frequent mention of *ιερώνυνα*, there is no mention of a priest. The only person spoken of as sacrificing is the demarch of the Marathonians.

The syntax and signification of *φρέατος*, line 52, to which a price of six drachmas is attached, is not clear. Whether it refers to a sacrificial pit or water privileges I must leave doubtful. It is the only case of a priced object coming after *ιερώνυνα*. The greatest puzzle of all, however, is the word *σπυλια*, or possibly *σπυδια*, line 10. Whether it be a neut. pl. or fem. sing. is doubtful. If the latter, it must be an expensive object, for it costs forty drachmas.

There is no plan in the distribution of the gender of the victims in this calendar. Zeus (*ἵπματος* and *ἀνθαλεύς*), Iolaüs, Hero Pheraeus, Hero by the Hellotion and Hyttenius all receive a sheep,<sup>34</sup> while Achaea, Cora and Ge have rams. A goat, in lines 34 and 50, and a sow with pigs, in 43, apparently go to some masculine divinity. Thus even the cautious statement made in Müller, *Handbuch*, v. 3, pp. 103-104, that at least Zeus and the heroes always received male offerings, is not here borne out.

The sacrifice of animals with young is quite a feature of the list. We have *ἕς κύουσα* three times, *οἷς κύουσα* twice, and once *βοῦς κύουσα*. The latter is assessed at the same price as *βοῦς*. An *ἕς κύουσα* is naturally priced higher than a pig. The latter is always three drachmas, while the former is twenty drachmas every time that its price can be made out. This might be due simply to the larger size of the sow. But in *οἷς κύουσα* we have a clear case of a high price on account of this condition of the animal—sixteen and seventeen drachmas against eleven and

<sup>34</sup> *οἷς* is not here masc., as in Cos Calendar, *Jour. of Hell. Stud.*, II, p. 335, line 61, *ἄς τέλειος*. *κρωῖς* is used in our inscription for the male

twelve for an ordinary sheep. The sacrifice of animals with young is not, however, peculiar to our calendar. It is mentioned in both the Cos<sup>36</sup> and the Myconus<sup>36</sup> calendars.

But we have already approached the subject of prices, which certainly claims attention in connection with this inscription. Perhaps the *hekteus* of barley is the best point to begin with, since bread is the staff of life. This costs four obols, about twelve cents, for a peck. In *CIA*, II, 631, a half *hekteus* of wheat costs three obols, and in *Inscr. Brit. Mus.*, I, 73, half that quantity, or two *choinikes*, costs the same. Our barley is then quite cheap, although a given quantity of wheat ought, of course, to be worth more than the same quantity of barley.

A pig for three drachmas, or about fifty cents, seems cheap. But this is the same price as that mentioned in *Ar., Peace*, 374, during the Peloponnesian War, when prices might naturally be higher than usual. On the other hand, at Delos, at about the beginning of the second century B. C., a pig is put down at from four drachmas to four drachmas and five obols.<sup>37</sup> But at Delos, the supply being limited, the price would for that reason alone run much higher than in a farming district on the mainland.

It is laid down as a general rule by Boeckh that, with all the variation in price, the ratio of price in sheep and oxen was as one to five; a sheep in Athens, in its blooming period, varying from ten to twenty drachmas, and an ox from fifty to a hundred. Our list gives some interesting information on this point. The prevailing price of a sheep is twelve drachmas, although in at least nine cases it is eleven drachmas.<sup>38</sup> We have already noticed the especial case of the *οἷς κύνουσα*. Rams and goats are always twelve drachmas, while the all-black ram runs up to fifteen drachmas.<sup>39</sup> The ratio of prices given by Boeckh does not hold here.

<sup>36</sup> *J. H. S.*, IX, p. 328, line 2, *δὲς κύνουσα*; p. 335, lines 57 and 62, *δὲς κύνουσα*.

<sup>37</sup> *DITT. Syll.*, No. 373, line 13, *ἑς ἐγκύμων*. Cf. also No. 388, line 69, *οὐν ἐπιτροκα*.

<sup>38</sup> *Bull. Cor. Hell.*, VI, p. 22, line 180 ff. BOECKH-FRÄNKEL, *Staatshaushaltung*, I, p. 94. The judgment is based on *Plut. Solon*, 23.

<sup>39</sup> The Heroine never gets a sheep of the higher price, although the Heroes do.

<sup>40</sup> As a comparison of ancient prices with modern is always interesting, I may here record that a peasant brought a goat of average size to the excavations, butchered it, and retailed it to our workmen, getting for the whole 19.50 drachmas. This, at the present depreciated rate of paper money, would make about eleven silver drachmas, which is about the same as eleven ancient drachmas.

The price of a cow or ox is too high, ninety drachmas; except in one case, line 8, where it seems to be a hundred; but the reading is doubtful, because the stone looks as if it had been subjected here to erasure or change. But, after all, the kine are not exorbitantly dear, as will appear by a comparison with some other prices.

*CIA.* I, 188 (410 B. C.), speaks of a hecatomb in the second prytany as costing 5114 drachmas, which, if the hecatomb consisted of a hundred cows, as is assumed by Boeckh<sup>40</sup> and Rhangabé,<sup>41</sup> makes about fifty-one drachmas a head. In *CIA.* II, 163 (406 B. C.), the inscription discussed by Rhangabé (*l. c.*), the price is even less, for the hecatomb costs 41 minæ, and as there is some money left over, the price would be even less than 41 drachmas.

In the Sandwich marble, *CIA.* II, 814a, line 35, the price is not dependent on any such interpretation of the word hecatomb, and is given at 8414 drachmas for 109 oxen, or about 77 drachmas a head. As this is about contemporary with our inscription, *i. e.*, about 375 B. C., it is the best one for comparison, except that as it concerns Delos it might be regarded as giving figures above the usual price. But we see that it gives figures lower than ours. It may also be regarded as harmonizing fairly well with the earlier and lower figures from Athens, on the consideration that these are the figures for oxen, while Athene's hecatomb would naturally consist of cows.<sup>42</sup> In the Cos Calendar,<sup>43</sup> too, it is specified that the heifer for Hera must not be of less value than 50 drachmas.

Thus far our kine would seem to be high-priced, if they are cows, and even if they are oxen. But there are records of still higher prices. In the inscription in *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, VI, p. 26, line 219 (at Delos, 180 B. C.), an ox costs 100 drachmas. In *CIG.* 1688, a prize ox at Delphi costs 300 drachmas. In *Eph. Arch.*, 1883, plate 11, line 77 (at Eleusis, about 330 B. C.), an ox is put down at 400 drachmas. In *CIA.* II, 545, line 32, an ox, as an offering to a hero, costs 100 Aeginetan Staters, which Boeckh reckons at 300 Attic drachmas.<sup>44</sup> Though some of these cows

<sup>40</sup> *CIG.* I, 147.

<sup>42</sup> Müller, *Handbuch*, v, 3, p. 104.

<sup>44</sup> *Staatshaushaltung*, I, p. 94.

*Antiq. Hell.*, II, p. 441.

<sup>43</sup> *Jour. of Hell. Stud.*, IX, p. 328, line 5.

may be accounted for on the ground of stringency arising from the times or the locality, they make our newly-found figures for kine, if rather high, at least not exorbitant.<sup>45</sup>

Other points of interest will occur to one and another reader, but with the remarks already made, and with thanks to T. W. Heermance, a member of the School, who has worked out with me from beginning to end the somewhat difficult reading of the stone, and to Dr. Wilhelm for important suggestions, I leave the inscription to those interested in such matters for further restoration and comment.

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March, 1895.

<sup>45</sup> It is possible that all our cases are either of oxen, or cows with calf, but the delivery of proof to that effect is impossible.



## THE CHORUS IN THE LATER GREEK DRAMA WITH REFERENCE TO THE STAGE QUESTION.

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The chorus in the Greek Drama, its position and external functions, has formed the basis of the investigations<sup>1</sup> in the last decade that have contributed in no small degree to the overthrow of the traditional belief in a high stage for actors during the classical period. Those who at first opposed the entire theory of Dr. Dörpfeld now concede, almost without exception, that the theatre of the fifth century placed no restraint upon the free and constant intermingling of actors and chorus.<sup>2</sup> But the question has by no means reached its solution. Vitruvius remains, and, until fresh evidence has been gathered from literary sources which shall conclusively refute or explain him, he will probably continue to remain, the stronghold of many who have not felt the overwhelming force of the evidence of the ruins.

The theories formulated by Mr. Gardner and Prof. Christ rest

<sup>1</sup>HÖPKEN, *de theatro attico*, Diss. Bonn, 1884; WILAMOWITZ, in *Hermes*, 21, 607 ff.; WHITE, in *Harvard Studies*, 1891, 159 ff.; CAPPS, in *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, 1891, 1 ff.; BODENSTEINER, in *Jahrb. f. class. Phil.*, 19<sup>tes</sup> Suppl., 1893, 689 ff.; PICKARD, in *Am. Jour. Phil.*, 1893, 68 ff.; WEISSMANN, *Die scenische Aufführung der griech. Dramen*, München, 1893; WECKLEIN, *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad.*, 1893, 1429 ff.

<sup>2</sup>The suggestion of a low stage for the fifth century first came from HAIGH, *Attic Theatre* (1889), 158, and has since found favor with many, either in its original or in a modified form. See GARDNER, in *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, Suppl. I., (1892); WEIL in *Jour. des Sav.*, 1893, 603; CHRIST, in *Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad.*, 1894, 1 ff.; OEHMICHEN, in *Woch. f. klass. Phil.*, 1894, 761; A. MÜLLER, in *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1894, 1456; Navarre, *Dionysos*, p. 95. For the view of Christ, who at first favored the new theory, see *Class. Rev.*, 1895, 133. Other compromises have been offered by DYER, in *Jour. Hell. Stud.*, 1891, 356 ff., EARLE, *Report of Arch. Inst. of Am.*, 1892-3, 611, and in the Introduction to his edition of the *Alcestis*, and PAULSEN, *Grekiska teatern*, Goteborg, 1894.

upon the assumption that at about the beginning of the third century, without any assignable reasons, the low stage was replaced by the high Vitruvian stage. This is the time of the first appearance of stone proscenia. From this time on there can be no compromise; the actors stood either upon the proscenium or in the orchestra in front of it, where, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, they always stood.<sup>3</sup> If, from 300 B. C. on, the actors stood upon the proscenium, then the chorus must either have entirely disappeared from the drama or have essentially changed its character before the reconstruction of the theatre was possible, *i. e.*, during the fourth century.

Our knowledge of the later Greek drama is extremely meagre. The current histories of Greek literature are full of all manner of vague statements as regards the history and character of the chorus after the fifth century. The prevailing view seems to be that both tragedy and comedy underwent a sudden change shortly after the Peloponnesian war, and that a throng of worthless or distinctly inferior poets succeeded the old masters; as for the chorus, that in tragedy it rapidly waned during the fourth century, soon became a mere appendage and at last disappeared, while in comedy it did not long outlive the Peloponnesian war. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in the discussion of the stage question, it has become the custom of the conservative party to ignore the chorus altogether after the fourth century. But not even the meagreness of our positive knowledge warrants the assertion of Haigh (*A. T.* 261), that "in the course of the fourth century the tragic chorus came to occupy the position of a band in modern times," and of Gardner (*Excav. at Megal.*, p. 157), that "it is only in the plays of the fifth century that there was any close connection and intercourse between actors and chorus, orchestra and stage. In the fourth century the chorus disappeared almost entirely from comedy, and in tragedy its functions came to be confined to the duty of merely singing interludes,"<sup>4</sup> and similar statements in Christ's last article.<sup>5</sup> Müller's paragraph on the subject (B-A. 341 ff.) and the introductory chapter of Rib-

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Gardner's theory, on the other hand, involves the following changes: V cent., a low stage; IV cent., a stage of *ca.* 4 ft.; III cent., a stage of 10 ft., gradually increasing to 12 ft.; I cent., a stage of 5 ft. (Roman). He considers, however, that the Roman theatre (the drama also?) was an independent growth.

beck's *Geschichte der römischen Tragödie* should have prevented such sweeping assertions. But neither Müller nor Ribbeck, nor, so far as I know, any other scholar, has submitted the subject of the character and functions of the later Greek chorus to a thorough investigation.<sup>6</sup> It is my purpose in this paper to bring together the evidence as to the later history of the chorus, and to determine, as far as possible, how it differed in character from that of the fifth century.

#### THE CHORUS IN THE LATER TRAGEDY.

Side by side with the formal exhibitions of tragedy at the great religious festivals, existed another kind of histrionic performance that was dignified by the name of tragedy—the exhibitions of wandering troupes at the country fairs and in the market-places of the cities. They were of an informal, doubtless extemporaneous character, and probably dispensed with choruses as well as with extensive scenic apparatus (*cf.* Plat. *Legg.* 7, 817 c). Leaving these out of account, there is no evidence that Greek tragedy ever gave up its chorus; on the other hand the literature and inscriptions contain many references to the tragic chorus at Athens and elsewhere down to a very late period. It will suffice to mention Lys. 19, 29 and 21, 1; Isaeus, *de Dic. her.* 36, *de Phil. her.* 60; Dem. *Mid.* 58 and 156; Arist. *Pol.* 3, 3, 1276 B, 4, *Prob.* 19, 48, 'Aθ. Πολ. 56, 3; Demochares *apud.* Vit. Aeschinis II; Plut. *Script. Mor.* 68 A, 599 B; Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 7, 1; CIA II, 1277, 1289, III, 68b. For Delos, Arist. 'Aθ. Πολ. 56, 3; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 7, 122 ff; Iasos, La Bas, *As. Min.*, no. 281; Thespiae, CIG 1585; Rhamnus, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1891, 49 (*ca.* 300 B. C.); Samos, CIG 3091 (170-60 B. C.); Teos, CIG 3089; Rhodes, Loewy, *Arch. Epig. Mitth.* 7, 111 (after fourth century).<sup>7</sup> In addition to these inscriptions, which mention the tragic choregia, are many other

<sup>6</sup>This seems to rest on Haigh's authority alone. See *Att. Theat.*, 157. Oehmichen (B-W., 197), evidently takes the same position.

<sup>7</sup>See pp. 26 f., 31, and *passim*.

<sup>8</sup>WELCKER, *Die griechische Tragödien*, pp. 899, 1276, 1819 ff., discusses the existence of the tragic chorus. The history, but not the character, of the chorus in tragedy and in comedy after the fifth century is discussed with admirable judgment by Magnin in his *Les Origines du Théâtre Attique*, Paris, 1868, p. 129 ff. But his views now require revision in some important particulars.

references to the tragic *agon*, in which the tragic chorus undoubtedly took its part along with the cyclic choruses. See Welcker, *Die griechische Tragödien*, p. 1295.

As to the character of the later tragic chorus, the opinion prevails that it had lost its former intimate connection with the action, and that its only function was to entertain the audience between the episodes. This opinion is based wholly on the much-discussed passage in Aristotle's *Poetics* (18, 1456 A, 26): *καὶ τὸν χορὸν δὲ ἕνα δεῖ ὑπολαβεῖν τῶν ὑποκριτῶν καὶ μῦθον εἶναι τοῦ ὄλου καὶ συναγωνίζεσθαι μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλεῖ· τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς τὰ ἀδόμμενα οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τοῦ μύθου ἢ ἄλλης τραγωδίας ἐστίν· διὸ ἐμβόλιμα ἄδουσιν πρώτου ἄρξαντος Ἀγάθωνος τοῦ τοιούτου· καίτοι τί διαφέρει ἢ ἐμβόλιμα ἄδειν ἢ εἰ ρῆσιν ἐξ ἄλλου εἰς ἄλλο ἀρμόττοι ἢ ἐπεισόδιον ὄλον;* These words are not ambiguous or obscure. It is surprising that they should have been so consistently misunderstood or partially understood. In the first sentence Aristotle states briefly the whole function of the chorus,<sup>8</sup> adding by way of illustration *μὴ ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδῃ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Σοφοκλεῖ*. This refers to the *manner* in which these poets gave their choruses a connection with the plot, not to the fact; for the chorus in Euripides takes a larger part in the action and, in this respect, does the work of an actor, to a greater extent than in Sophocles. And yet there is an essential and unmistakable difference in the conceptions of these two poets of the true function of the chorus. This difference is exhibited, not so much in the external conduct of the chorus, but in the very motive of its presence in the play. The choruses of Sophocles, as a rule, have a deeper sympathy with the actors, a more intimate connection with the plot, than those of Euripides, although those of the latter move about more freely and come into closer personal contact with the actors than those of the former.<sup>9</sup> This is a distinction that has been generally

<sup>8</sup> A full collection of inscriptions published before 1888 is given by BRINCK, *Inscriptiones graecae ad choregiam pertinentes*, Halle, 1888. Some of the above are given on the strength of Brinck's restorations.

<sup>9</sup> So far as this was possible in a single sentence, seeing how varied and complex are the functions of the chorus in the best plays of the best poets. *Prob.* 18, 48: *ἔστι γὰρ ὁ χορὸς κηδεστῆς ἀπρακτος· εὐνοίαν γὰρ μόνον παρέχεται οἷς πάρεσσι*, if genuine, probably reflects the opinion of Aristotle when he was still more under the influence of Sophocles than when he wrote the *Poetics*. ARNOLDT, *Chorische Technik des Euripides*, p. 60.

overlooked by interpreters of Aristotle. Or are we to suppose that a critic like Aristotle approved more heartily of the active chorus of the *Helen* than of the inactive chorus of the *Oedipus Rex*? It is true that he commended the chorus that took its part in the action, as is sufficiently indicated by *συναγωνίζεσθαι*. Much depended on the plot chosen by the poet. The chorus in the *Bacchae* necessarily bore a very different character from that of the *Oedipus*, though one could hardly say that it was better motivated. But undoubtedly Aristotle intended that the main stress should be laid upon what we may term the inner character of the chorus, as is shown not only by the comparison of Sophocles and Euripides, but also by what immediately follows in the text.

"The melic parts," he proceeds, "of the successors of Euripides and Sophocles belong no more to the myth than to another tragedy altogether, in fact are mere interludes. Agathon was the first to do this sort of thing. But this is no more justifiable than to transfer whole speeches or episodes from one tragedy to another." The fact that Aristotle proceeds to discuss the pertinency of the melic parts to the subject of the drama is a confirmation of the view advanced above, that in the first sentence he had in mind, though not exclusively, as here, the *manner* in which an ideal chorus should be made an integral part of the whole. There is not the slightest ground for the inference that the chorus whose odes are purely intermezzi take no part in the action.<sup>10</sup> Aristotle is discussing now a part of the function of the chorus; the whole was sketched in the first sentence. On the contrary, since one of the requisites of the ideal chorus is *συνα-*

<sup>10</sup> MUFF, *Chorische Technik des Soph.*, finds that the Sophoclean chorus takes no part in the action in *Antigone*, *Electra*, *Oedipus Rex*, and *Trachiniae*, while some of the melic parts in the last named drama alone are open to the charge of irrelevancy. Arnoldt, *l.c.*, criticizes the *Hecabe*, *Andromache*, *Troades*, *Helen* and *Iphigenia Aul.* for the intermezzic character of some of their choral odes, but no play for the inactivity of its chorus. MAHAFFY, *Gr. Lit.*, I, 317, goes so far as to say that the chorus "was not by Euripides, but by Sophocles, degraded to be a mere spectator of the action." But he misses the distinction that I point out above. The weak remark of Schol. Arist. *Ach.* 443: οἶτος γὰρ (i. e. Eurip.) εἰσάγει τοὺς χοροὺς οὔτε τὰ ἀκόλουθα φθεγγόμενος τῇ ὑποθέσει κτέ, and that of Accius (*apud* Nonius, p. 178): *sed Euripides, qui choros temerius in fabulis*, have had apparently too much effect on modern criticism. An able defense of the choruses of Euripides is found in Decharme, in *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre*, Paris, 1893.

γωνίζεσθαι, and since οἱ λοιποὶ receive no word of criticism on this score, it is a fair inference that Aristotle had no reason to rebuke the poets of his day for the inactivity of their choruses. It will be shown later that the dramas of the fourth century seem to bear out this inference.

What is precisely Aristotle's criticism of Agathon? It is commonly asserted, on the strength of this passage, that Agathon was the first to substitute entertaining musical interludes for odes on subjects directly suggested by the play; that this was his practice and that of his successors. We have the authority of Aristotle that this was indeed the prominent characteristic of the tragedy of his day. But was it the regular practice of Agathon, or did he merely furnish one marked example of it? The latter is Welcker's view (*Gr. Trag.* p. 1000 ff.), and it seems to me extremely probable. In *ch.* 18 of the *Poetics* Aristotle warns against the danger of dramatizing an epic subject, extended in time and embracing too ramified a myth. Such an attempt, he says, cannot be successful. σημεῖον δέ· ὅσοι πέρισι Ἰλίου δαμνέπότησιν ζουῆ ἐκπίπτουσι ἢ κακῶς ἀγωνίζονται· ἐπεὶ κατ' Ἀγαθῶν ἐξετέλει ἐν τούτῳ μόνῳ. From this Hermann and others have inferred that Agathon wrote a play embracing the material contained in the Ἰλίου Πέρισι. Now he would have been a poet of extraordinary ability who could have dramatized a story so full of incidents and so extended in time, and at the same time have kept his libretto up to the Sophoclean standard. A good illustration is the *Phœnix* of Euripides; a more or less loosely connected series of scenes from the same subject as that of Agathon, but on a smaller scale. Some of the *stasima* narrowly escape being ἐμβόλια. Given the broader subject of the *Ilipercis*, it would have been almost impossible to link the episodes together more closely than, for example, the three parts of a trilogy. As for the chorals, it would have been an easy matter to give them a part in the action, but between the episodes it would be left high and dry. It seems to me, therefore, altogether probable that the play in which

110 And yet many have committed themselves openly to this non sequitur. Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.* p. 7, says: "da nicht (i. e., Agathon), by writing ἐμβόλια, jede Theilnahme des Chors an der Handlung abschneilt," and Christ, *Theat. des Polyt.*, *Sitzungsber. der Bay. Akad.* p. 26: "diese (ἐμβόλια) setzen ja keinen Wechsel überkehr zwischen Chor und Bühne voraus." So also Leo, *Philol. Forsch.* p. 88, n. 2.

Agathon set the example of ἐμβόλιμα was an "Piupersis," whether this was its exact title or not. It is not probable that so clever a poet made the experiment again. Elsewhere Aristotle has nothing but praise for him, considering him alone of the younger poets worthy to be placed side by side with Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

We have seen that Aristotle gives us implicit information as to the character of the fourth century tragic chorus which furnishes us with a valuable presumption that will assist in our further investigation. We know that the choruses of Euripides show no decline in his later period, so far as concerns their participation in the action.<sup>11</sup> It is true that choral odes that may almost be called ἐμβόλιμα occur, though rarely. This is true even of Sophocles. Under the influence of Sophocles, Euripides, and Agathon, and partly, doubtless, through lack of higher dramatic ability, the poets of the fourth century came to neglect the vital, traditional connection of the chorus with the drama, which in early times was exhibited mainly in the choral songs. It is incredible, however, that the strong conservative influence<sup>12</sup> exercised by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and especially by Euripides, on the whole later history of the drama, should have failed to maintain the chorus, externally at least, in close connection with the plot. The sons of the three great tragic poets, thoroughly trained in the technique of their fathers, brought tragedy over into the fourth century, not considerably changed in any of its essential features. The tendency in the fifth century was to diminish the part of the chorus. This tendency doubtless continued. But if we had representative plays from the beginning and end of the fourth century, is it probable that we should find a greater difference between them than between the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus and the *Aulian Iphigenia*? If the chorus were separated from both plot and action, it is hard to see why the Athenians should have spent so much money on its further maintenance.

The contemporaries of Demosthenes, who were thoroughly

<sup>11</sup> OSMICHEN, (*B. W.*, p. 299), quotes the comic poet Plato *apud* Athen. xiv, 628E, to prove the inactivity of the chorus in the time of Euripides, (which was also, we should remember, the time of Sophocles). But Athenaeus quotes the verses merely to illustrate a point about choral (dithyrambic?) dancing.

<sup>12</sup> See RIBBECK, *Röm. Trag.*, p. 1.

familiar with the masterpieces of the classical period of the drama, and who had the opportunity every year of comparing the new with the old, seemed to have loved the new no less by reason of the comparison. The *καὶνὰ τραγῳδία* were the chief attraction of the Great Dionysia. Aristotle, also, who insisted so strongly on the maintenance of the high standard of the fifth century, by no means disapproved of the new tragedy. He draws his illustrations from Theodectes, Polyeidus, Dicaeogenes and Astydamus almost as often as from the classical trio, with whom he clearly believes them worthy to be classed.<sup>13</sup> Chaeremon and Carcinus are censured, but so is Euripides, by all odds the most popular poet of the time, almost as often as he is praised. Hence, though the extant fragments are too scanty to warrant an independent judgment, yet we have a good right to suppose that tragedy did not at once decline through the inferiority of the new generation of poets.

A probable indication of the general characteristics of the choruses of the later poets may be obtained from an examination of the plays of Euripides. The most natural expedient of a poet who is conscious of the dramatic weakness of his chorus is to introduce some external connection with the action, or to offer some form of entertainment that will draw attention from the defect. Sophocles seems to have resorted to this device in the *Trachiniae*, whose chorus, though weak in comparison with that of the *Oedipus*, still "*ergötzt das Publicum durch Mannifaltigkeit und Wechsel in Vortrag und Stellung*" (Muff., *l. c.* p. 226). A lesser poet, but perhaps a better though less conscientious playwright, Euripides, uses the first device. Take, for example, the two plays in which are found the clearest examples of *ἐμβόλιμα μέλη*—the *Helen* (third stasimon) and *Andromache* (fourth stasimon). Admitting for the moment that the chorus in these odes fulfils only the functions of a band, is the chorus in general of so little consequence to the action as a band? The *Helen* furnishes one of the few instances that have never been disputed of the passage of the chorus over the "stage" (*v. v.* 315, 327), and of its attack on actors (724, 846). In the *Andromache* (817 ff.), the chorus is on the point of

<sup>13</sup> Mahaffy again needs correction when he says (I, 390), that Aristotle "*hardly mentions any of them, and then almost always by way of censure.*"



entering the house when deterred by the entrance of Hermione. In every play whose chorus has been criticized for the irrelevancy of its songs,<sup>14</sup> whether the criticisms have been just or not, are found indications of direct participation in the action. In view of this fact I suspect that the chorus in Agathon's "*Iliupersis*" exhibited the same kind of activity. It was probably composed of soldiers. What more probable than that, when not singing their interludes, they should have filled the scene with "alarums and excursions"? It is doubtful if the audience would have found fault with such a chorus, whatever might be the verdict of the judges and of Aristotle.

The tragedy *Rhesus*, which tradition has assigned to Euripides, is now generally believed to have been written in the fourth century.<sup>15</sup> The grounds on which this belief rests are manifold, and, taken altogether, fairly conclusive. In view of the widespread and growing belief in its later origin, I shall call it into evidence on the question of the chorus of the fourth century—remembering always that this dating is to a certain extent hypothetical.

The chorus of *Rhesus* is formed of Trojan soldiers, the night-watch of Hector's camp. Its presence is remarkably well motivated, and its sympathy with the actors complete. This close relation finds expression not only in appropriate choral songs but also in lively participation in dialogue and action. The chorus is in an unusual degree one of the actors. The realism of the play is enhanced by the departure of the chorus from the scene in order to call the relief watch, thus giving the spies the opportunity to

<sup>14</sup> Arnoldt has shown that there is generally a sufficient dramatic reason for the irrelevancy—and Arnoldt is no blind champion of Euripides, as Hartung was. The latter (*Eur. Restitutus* II, p. 369), finds only two odes that are open to this criticism—in *Iph. Taur.* and *Hel.* I omit the former in recognition of Arnoldt's defense (*l. c.* p. 86), and take the *Andr.* as a clearer case. The third stasimon of the *Helen* has been thought by Fritzsche and O. Müller to have been taken from another tragedy. On the fourth stasimon of *Andr.* see ARNOLDT, *l. c.* p. 68. Few critics would agree with Bernhardt, who says that the majority of Euripides' choral odes are merely "*Beiwerke und Randzeichnungen*," or would go as far as Wilamowitz, *Herakl.* I, p. 354. See WEIL, *Jour. des Sav.* 1893, p. 600.

<sup>15</sup> Since VALCANAER'S *Diatribes in Euripidis fragmenta* (see §88, page 85, of the Glasgow Euripides). SITTL (*Gr. Lit.* III, p. 331) is an exception. CHRIST (*N. Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1894, 160), has receded from the position taken in his *Litt. Gesch.*, p. 229, that it is a work of Euripides' early period. For the full literature of the subject see ROLFE in vol. IV. of the *Harvard Studies*. Wilamowitz, *Herakl.* I, p. 130, suggests 370-80 as the probable time of composition.

enter the camp. The play is further remarkable for the appearance of two *θεοὶ ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*. The choral odes are short and metrically simple, but always apposite. The author of this play, therefore, conforms to the Aristotelian ideal of a chorus in both its applications, although he is entirely unhampered by conventions and rules in every other respect. An evident und doubtless conscious imitator, or rather student, of the earlier poets, he had yet native ability enough to give his chorus a distinct character of its own,<sup>16</sup> whatever be the defects in the economy of the piece. In its external characteristics the chorus is exactly what the preceding discussion has led us to expect in a play of the fourth century. On the other hand there are no *ἐμβόλιμα*—the compact plot prevented that. In other respects I suspect that it is very similar to the chorus in Agathon's "*Iliupersis*"—a play which would have afforded precisely the same opportunities for spectacle and animated action.

The first Roman tragedy was produced sixty years after the end of the fourth century. Roman tragedy, even to a greater extent than comedy, was confessedly not only modelled on that of the Greeks, but often directly copied (Cic. *de fin.* 1, 2). Even if no fragments were extant, we should have the right to assume that, as a rule, no important character of the original was omitted, especially in the earlier translations. Very slight evidence of "contamination" is found.<sup>17</sup> Oemichen<sup>18</sup> is to a certain extent right when he says that most of the Greek originals were taken from the later period of the drama. They were taken from the plays which were at that time to be seen in Greek theatres. A large number of them, however, were the *παλαιὰ τραγωδία*, especially of Euripides. But whatever was the time of the composition of the Greek originals, we may expect to find in the Roman reproductions a fairly true reflection not only of the gen-

<sup>16</sup>CROISSET, *Hist. Litt. Gr.*, III, p. 380, well says "*La façon dont il emploie le chœur en cherchant à suppléer par le spectacle et le mouvement au mérite des chants, dénote un esprit qui cherche.*"

<sup>17</sup>WELCKER, *Gr. Trag.*, p. 1348: "*im Ganzen und Grossen war die römische Tragödie vor der Augustischen Periode eine übersetzte, die einzelnen Stücke auf griechische Originale durchgängig gegründet.*"

<sup>18</sup>He wrongly adds: "*(Eine Zeit) in der die chorische Actione als lästige Fessel empfunden und deshalb beschnitten wurde.*" B-W, p. 285.

eral character of the later Greek tragedy, but also the art and manner of the presentation of both the old and the new tragedies in the contemporary Greek theatre, just as is the case with comedy.

Grysar, Jahn, and Ribbeck have established the fact that Roman tragedy never lacked a chorus.<sup>19</sup> The activity of this chorus was not confined to the interludes, though not many years ago scholars maintained the contrary on the strength of Donatus<sup>20</sup> as confidently as they now maintain it, on the strength of Aristotle, for the later Greek tragedy. In Horace, *Ep.*, 2, 3, 215: *tibicen traxitque uagus per pulpitum uestem*, is found an indication of the customary freedom of movement of the chorus following the musician. In the scanty fragments Ribbeck and Jahn have found sufficient evidence that the choreutae regularly came into close contact with the actors. They engage in conversation with them in the *Medea* and *Thyestes* of Ennius, the *Antiopa*, *Chryses*, and *Niptra* of Pacuvius, and the *Philocteta* of Accius. Bacchic choruses seem to have been especially popular, occurring in the *Lycurgus* of Naevius, the *Periboea*, *Antiopa*, and *Pentheus* of Pacuvius, and the *Bacchae* of Accius. Such plays as the *Eumenides* and the *Alcumeo* of Ennius probably suggested to Cicero the image which he found so effective: "*quem ad modum in fabulis saepenumero uidetis, eos, qui aliquid impie scelerateque commiserunt, agitari et perterri Furiarum taedis ardentibus.* (*Rosc. Am.* 24, 67; cf. in *Pis.* 20). Further still, in the *Philocteta*, a chorus of sailors accompanies Ulixes and Diomedes, and a similar chorus appears in the *Iphigenia* of Ennius. In the *Antiopa* (?) of Pacuvius the choreutae threaten an actor (Ribbeck, T. R. F. *fr. inc.* iv), and in his *Niptra* (*fr.* ix) they carry the wounded Ulixes in upon the stage. In the *Antigona* of Accius (*fr.* iv), the chorus of watchmen seize the heroine as she sprinkles dust on her brother's corpse. A second chorus

<sup>19</sup> See GRYSAR, *Canticum u. Chor der röm. Trag.* in *Sitzungsber. d. wien. Akad.* 15 (1855), 365 ff.; JAHN, in *Hermes* 2 (1867), 225 ff., and RIBBECK, *Röm. Trag.* and *Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, and the convenient summary in Schwabe's last revision of TEUFFEL'S *Gesch. der röm. Lit.*, I, 20.

<sup>20</sup> Arg. to *Andria*: *est igitur attente animaduertendum ubi et quando scaena uacua sit ab omnibus personis, ut in ea chorus uel tibicen audiri possit; quod quom uideremus, ibi actum esse finitum dehemus agnoscere.* *Tibicen* seems to refer to comedy. *chorus* to tragedy. Donatus is not in error. The function of the chorus during the progress of the piece does not concern him.

appears in the *Eumenides* and *Alexander* of Ennius and in the *Antiopa* of Pacuvius. Such subordinate choruses were probably always taken from the Greek original, but they seem to have been given far greater prominence. One of the peculiarities that we observed in the *Rhesus* occurs again and again on the Roman stage—the withdrawal of the chorus during the progress of the play. This is found in plays in whose Greek originals the chorus remained in its position, *e. g.*, the *Antigona*, *Iphigenia*, and others. Ribbeck regards it as exceptional for the chorus to remain on the scene from its entrance to the close of the piece. It probably came and went as it was needed, thus adding life and movement and spectacular effect, as well as affording more room on the stage for actors (Jahn, *l. c.* p. 227). The Roman poets in this way evaded the difficult task of keeping the chorus in easy and natural connection with the actors during the dialogues. In short, the chorus on the Roman stage, except for its songs between the acts, was much like the mobs, retinues, and armies on the modern stage, though it had a more intimate part in the action. To compare it with the modern band would be radically misleading.

I have mentioned so far only those plays which can with probability be traced back to fifth century originals. The plot, characters, and chorus generally are retained practically without change, but the treatment of the chorus reminds one rather of Aeschylus than of Sophocles. When Ennius in his *Iphigenia* substitutes a chorus of sailors for the Chalcidian maidens of Euripides, and Pacuvius in his *Antiopa* a chorus of watchmen for the Theban elders of Sophocles, the desire is clearly seen of establishing a closer personal relation between chorus and actors, with a view to imparting more life and activity to the former. Ennius and Pacuvius doubtless had examples to follow, not only in the later Greek imitations of the classical dramas, but also in the practice of the stage-managers in the contemporary Greek theatres, who regularly brought out the old favorites, set and interpreted according to the tastes of the time, very much as Shakespeare is brought out in our own day in the best theatres.

It is difficult to identify Roman copies with originals from the fourth and following centuries, firstly because only scanty frag-

ments of both original and copy remain; secondly because the Roman poets often changed the original title. Some of the plays above mentioned may come from late treatments of subjects used by the earlier poets; for the late Greek tragedy shows little variety in the selection of myths and much imitation in their employment. Undoubtedly some of the Bacchic subjects are of this class, e. g., the *Statistae* or *Tropaeum Liberi* of Accius, the *Nuptiae Bacchi* of Santra, and, according to Leo, the *Periboea* of Pacuvius. Welcker and Ribbeck refer the original of the *Hector Proficiscens* of Naevius to Astydamos, whose *Hector* was a war piece, like the *Rhesus*. The *Penthesilea* of Ennius (?) seems to go back to Chaeremon, as well as the *Io* of Accius, whose *Hellenes* was probably taken from Apollodorus. The *Armorum Judicium* of Pacuvius was more likely a copy of the *Aias* of Theodectes, which, according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* 1399 B, 1400 A), gave special prominence to the *ὄπλων κρίσις*, than of the similar piece by Aeschylus. Other plays that cannot be identified, but which almost certainly do not go back to the fifth century, show traces of important choruses. The *Iliona* of Pacuvius used to a certain extent the material of the *Hecabe* of Euripides, but is later; the *Ino* of Livius had a chorus of worshippers of Trivia, and the *Nyctegresia* of Accius was probably a copy of the *Rhesus*. The *Alexander* of Ennius had a chorus of shepherds. The *Myrmidones* of Accius, if it is not after Aeschylus, as Ribbeck thinks, may have been taken from Astydamos, Carcinus, Euaretus, or another fourth century poet. It admits of no doubt that, if we had more extensive data, we should find that a very large number of Latin tragedies were based on post-classical originals.<sup>21</sup> The chorus in the Roman tragedy, with its leading characteristics which I have tried to trace, was not an inheritance from the old Greek tragedy alone, but from Greek tragedy as a whole. So firmly had the Greek conception of tragedy taken hold of the Romans that, when they made a national tragedy of their own, as far removed as possible from Greek influence, the chorus was retained as a matter of course. Ribbeck embraces Roman tragedy of all periods, both Greco-Roman and praetexta, when he says

<sup>21</sup> Leo, *Seneca*, I, p. 158, n. 15, attributes the following to post-Euripidean poets: the *Dulorestes*, *Iliona*, *Medus*, *Periboea*, and *Atalanta* of Pacuvius, and the *Melanippus*, *Clytemnestra*, and *Hellenes* of Accius.

(*Gesch. röm. Dicht.* I., 194), that it strove "durch drastische Mittel die Aufmerksamkeit zu fesseln," and he considers that the chorus contributed largely to that end.

The Roman chorus appeared, of course, upon the stage. There was no other place for it, and the Roman stage was large enough. The activity of the Roman chorus has been explained by this fact alone, for when brought so near the actors and upon the same level, what was more natural than that it should be given a part in the action? What was the exception in the Greek theatre, says Jahn (*l. c.* p. 227), became the rule in the Roman, that the chorus might not become a mere chorus of dummies. But Jahn, of course, did not know that it was, in fact, the rule in the Greek theatre also for the chorus to commingle with the actors. One who recognizes the general attitude of the Roman poets toward their Greek models, and their almost absolute lack of originality in all that pertains to dramatic art, will be loth to concede that the chorus was rescued by them from imbecility, or even elevated by them from a position comparable to that of a band. In view of the interpretation of Aristotle, which I have offered, and of the evidence of the last plays of the fifth century and of the fourth century *Rhesus*, I cannot but think that the Roman chorus, which seems hitherto to have been overlooked in interpreting the Greek, furnishes strong grounds for believing that the external characteristics of the Greek tragic chorus, and, to a certain extent, its inner relations to the drama, remained unimpaired from the fifth century down to the first. Horace was not only laying down a practical precept, but was also insisting on an actual, historical fact, when he defined the functions of the tragic chorus:

actoris partes chorus officiumque uirile  
defendat, neu quid medios intercinat actus,  
quod non proposito conducat et haereat apte.

#### THE LATER SATYRIC CHORUS.

Originally one of the most characteristic forms of the worship of Dionysus, and, with the dithyrambic chorus, the precursor of both tragedy and comedy, the satyr-drama in classical times occupied a position at the festivals and in public interest distinctly

inferior to tragedy and comedy. Comedy had so grown in popularity after its admission to the Great Dionysia, and filled so satisfactorily the desire of the Athenian populace for scurrility, irreverence and buffoonery, that we can readily conceive that the satyr-drama continued to wane in proportion as its traditional importance was lost sight of. When it became necessary for Athens to retrench expenses on all sides to tide over the years of distress that followed the Peloponnesian war, we should expect to find that the lusty companion of tragedy was the first to feel the change. There is no record until 340 B. C., however, that such a change was made. An inscription of that year (*CIA*, II, 973, *ll.* 17, 30), shows that the number of satyric plays given each year was reduced from three to one. Yet during the first half of the fourth century the satyr-drama seems to have continued to flourish. Achaëus the Eretrian, a younger contemporary of Euripides, held a high place in satyric poetry. The philosopher Menedemus ranked him next to Aeschylus *ἐν τοῖς σατύροις* (*Diog. Laert.* 2, 133). The titles of seven of his satyri are known. Still later than Achaëus, Astydamas is represented by two, Chaeremon by three or four,<sup>22</sup> Python and Timocles by one each, while four or five fragments that possibly belong to this period are found among the *ἀδέσποτα*.<sup>23</sup> This is a large number considering that titles can be reclaimed for this branch of the drama often only by the shrewdest combinations alone.

Toward the end of the fourth century it seems that the satyr-drama fell more or less into disuse, though we are told of the performance of the *Ἀγὴν, ἡ σατυρικὸν δράματιον*, of which either Python or Alexander the Great was the author (*Nauck, T. G. F.*<sup>2</sup> p. 810). A revival took place under the influence of Sositheus of the Alexandrine Pleias, as is recorded by his contemporary, Dioscorides (*Anth. Pal.* VII, 707). The satyr Scirtus is supposed to be standing at the tomb of the poet, as another had done at that of Sophocles (*ibid.*, no. 37), speaking as follows:

<sup>22</sup> NAUCK, *T. G. F.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 781 ff.; WELCKER, *Nachtrag*, 288 ff. I am inclined to think that the *Κέρραυρος* also was a satyric drama, not a tragedy. The comic poets Pherecrates and Nicochares made use of the same subject in the *Ἀγριοί* and *Κέρραυρος*.

<sup>23</sup> NAUCK, *T. G. F.*<sup>2</sup> Nos. 90, 146, 165, 205, and possibly 346.

Κῆγ' ὦ Σωσιθέου κομέω νέκυν, ὅσσον ἐν ἄστει  
 ἄλλος ἀπ' αὐθαίμων ἡμετέρων Σοφοκλήν,  
 Σκίρτος ὁ πυρρόγένειος · ἐκισσοφόρησε γὰρ ὠνήν  
 ἄξια Φλιασίων, καὶ μὰ χοροῦς, Σατύρων.  
 κῆμέ, τὸν ἐν καινοῖς τετραμμένον ἤθεσιν ἤδη,  
 ἤγαγεν εἰς μνήμην, πατρίδ' ἀναρχαίας.

πατρίς, as Welcker (*Gr. Trag.*, 1254, note) says, is clearly a reference to Athens. The chorus was still the prominent feature as of old. In fact a satyric play without a chorus, either of satyrs or of a suitable substitute for them, (*e. g.* the pupils of Menedemus in Lycophron's piece *Μενέδημος*), is not to be thought of at any period in the history of this branch of dramatic poetry.<sup>24</sup> The importance of the satyr-drama after the revival instituted by Sositheus is shown by the fact that they were composed by at least four of the seven Pleiades—Philiscus (Nauck, *T. G. F.* p. 819), and Alexander Aetolus (Schenkl, *Wien. Stud.* 10, 326), besides Sositheus and Lycophron—as well as by Callimachus, Timon and Timesitheus (Welcker, *Nachtrag*, 313), and Ameinias (*CIG* 1584, *ca.* 195 B. C.)—an importance reflected in the art of the third and following centuries.<sup>25</sup>

The continuance of the satyr-drama outside of Athens even down into Roman times has long been known from inscriptions. See Le Bas, *As. Min.* p. 37, nos. 91, 92; *CIG* 1584, 1585, 2758, IV; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 2 (1878), 590; 'Εφημ. 'Αρχ. 1884, 121 ff.; *Archiv. d. missions scientif. et littér.*, 2<sup>m</sup> ser., tom. IV, 522; Rhangabé, *Ant. Hell.* II, 691, l. 20; Keil, *Insc. Boeot.*, p. 61; *cf.* Diog. Laert. 5, 85. Fulgentius tells of the *satyra* in Alexandria after the time of Cicero.<sup>26</sup> New records have more recently come to light. An inscription from Rhodes, skilfully put together by Kaibel (*Hermes* 2, 269 ff.) tells of the production in the first century before Christ of a complete Sophoclean trilogy followed by the satyr-drama *Telephus*. Finally some inscriptions from Magnesia, recently published by Kern (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1894, 96 ff.), give a satyric piece with the lists

<sup>24</sup> "Dass ein Satyrdrama ohne Satyrchor bestehen konnte . . . lässt sich in keinem Fall glaublich machen," Kaibel, *Hermes*, 1895, 78. For the chorus in the *Menedemus* see *Ath.* 10, 420; ἐν οἷς φησιν ὁ Σίληνός πρὸς τοὺς σατύρους, and *cf. ibid.* 427 c.

<sup>25</sup> *ATH.* 196 F, 198 D.; JAHN, *Berichte d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1847, 294, and *Philologus* 27, 17; HEYDEMANN, ninth *Wincklemann Prog.* from Halle, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> WELCKER, *Gr. Trag.*, p. 1270.



of comedies and tragedies for each year. The poets and plays for five years are as follows: Theodorus Θυτή (Θυέστη?); Polemon, name of play omitted; Polemaeus Αἶαντι; Harmodius Πρωτεσιλάφ; Theodorus Παλαμήδη. The date is about the first century. Although at this time Athens was no longer the centre of the Hellenic world, yet the fact that the documents above quoted come, not from Alexandria, Pergamon or Antioch, but from small inland towns and from islands, whose festivals had a purely local character, lends no small degree of probability to the supposition that the satyr-drama still flourished at its early home.<sup>27</sup>

#### THE CHORUS IN THE MIDDLE COMEDY.

The plays of Plautus and Terence, which go back almost exclusively to the new comedy,<sup>28</sup> must be accepted as proof that the comic chorus had disappeared by the second century before Christ. We should perhaps be justified in placing the date still earlier, but for the fact that among the fragments of the new comedy are found remains of choral odes, which Meineke has collected in vol. I, p. 441 ff. of his Comic Fragments. The Soteric inscriptions of the third century give some comic choreutae in each list.<sup>29</sup> Roman comedy, like Roman tragedy, followed the contemporary Greek usage even in using models of an earlier period. The chorus in the new comedy, however, as far as it existed at all, was only a

<sup>27</sup> The question of the satyr-drama among the Romans does not concern us here. The *Erigona* and *Σύδαιπνοι* of Quintus Cicero were probably satyric plays (Ribbeck, *Röm. Trag.* 626 ff.), and the *Sisyphus* of Pomponius (Porphyrio on Hor. *Ep.* 2, 3, 221). Horace certainly seems to have living and future writers of *σάτυροι* in mind in *Ep.* 2, 3, 221 (Kiessling. *ad loc.*). The close resemblance, if not relationship, between the Atellane farces and the satyr-drama is well known. The farces of Sulla were said to be *σατυρικοί κωμῳδίαι* (*Ath.* 6, 261 c). In the face of all this and the evidence cited above, the contention of Maass (*Annali del Inst.*, 1881, 120) that the satyr-drama disappeared after the Pleias, cannot be maintained. Kern's view that the satyr-drama flourished in Rome as a distinct branch of the drama is more probable now than ever before.

<sup>28</sup> HÜFFNER, *de Plauti comoed. exemplis Att.*, Diss. Gött. 1894, agrees with Wilamowitz (*Index Lect.* Gött., 1893), in attributing the *Persa* to a fourth century original. Holm, however, will not concede even this (*Berl. phil. Woch.* 1894, 1253). Almost all of the Plautine pieces whose originals can be dated come from the first quarter of the third century. Apart from Aul. Gel. 2, 23, there is no evidence of the use of models from the middle comedy.

shadow of the earlier comic chorus. On the other hand the last extant play of Aristophanes has a chorus that is materially curtailed. What was the history of the chorus during this interval of 100 years? It is the general belief that the marked decline noticed in the second *Plutus*, produced in 388, probably the next year after the *Ecclesiazusae*, whose chorus is still vigorous, was followed abruptly by a practically chorusless comedy. The chorus was the heart and soul of the old comedy. Its abolition involved the entire reconstruction on experimental lines of this branch of the drama. So great a change, if it occurred suddenly, must have been produced by the pressure of external influences. If no such influences can be found, and no authentic record of the sudden change, then we must believe that the history of the middle comedy was a history of gradual development as regards both form and matter. The question therefore limits itself to this—have we sufficient evidence for the prevalent belief that the comic chorus, as we know it from the old comedy, was abolished early in the fourth century?

Our principal sources for the history of the later Attic comedy, apart from the scanty notices in Aristotle, are the treatises of the grammarians which are prefixed to the scholia of Aristophanes. Most of them are wretched compilations, but they go back to earlier authorities, whom we can trust if only we can glean their statements from the mass of rubbish in which they are buried. Many contributions have already been made toward this result. Of these the instructive dissertation of Fielitz, *de Atticorum comoedia bipartita*, Bonn, 1866, must receive especial attention here. His main contention is that before the time of Hadrian the threefold division of Attic comedy was unknown; that the Alexandrine grammarians recognized only two, the old and the new. Thus many contradictions in the ancient notices find an easy explanation. Kaibel (*Hermes*, 24 (1889), 56 ff.) has shown that Fielitz left out of account the certain existence of a tradition which the post-Hadrianic writers took up. Two canons long existed side by side, that of the Alexandrines recognizing the threefold

<sup>22</sup> Dated by DITTENBERGER after 229 B. C. MÜLLER, *B.-A.* 438, thinks that the chorus simply filled the pauses in the play—an inference that is by no means necessary.

division, and that of the Pergamene school the twofold. Our notices are generally a mixture of the two. Fielitz tried further to prove that, in the twofold division, what was afterward called the middle comedy was classed with the new. So far as I know this claim has received general acceptance. The argument rests essentially on the assumption that the middle comedy resembled the new more than the old. I believe that it can be shown that the contrary is the case, especially as regards the chorus, whose absence from the middle comedy Fielitz takes for granted.

Aristotle had noticed that a change had taken place in comedy. Poetry, he says in the *Poetics* (1451 B, 7 ff.), differs from History in that it confines itself to τὰ καθόλου, whereas the latter deals with τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον· ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς κωμῳδίας ἤδη τοῦτο δῆλον γέγονεν· συστήσαντες γὰρ τὸν μῦθον διὰ τῶν εἰκότων, οὕτω τὰ τυχόντα ὀνόματα ὑποτιθέασιν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἰαμβοποιοὶ περὶ τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον ποιούσιν. The ἰαμβοποιοὶ are especially the old comic poets. In 1449 B, 8, Crates is said to have been the first to give up τὴν ἰαμβικὴν ἰδέαν in comedy. In *Eth. Nic.* 4, 14, 1128 A, 22, he makes the point clearer: ἴδοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκ τῶν κωμῳδιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καινῶν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἦν γελοῖον ἢ αἰσχρολογία, τοῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ ἰπνόνοια. From these passages we learn that the comic poets of his day abused people in a general way and not by name, and that they had substituted suggestive allusions for downright obscenity, and that the change begins with Crates, that is, just before Aristophanes. That Aristotle is speaking of the general tendencies that characterized the early and the recent comedy is abundantly shown by the plays of Aristophanes and the fragments of his successors. It is to be noticed that he uses the general terms παλαιά and καινή, whereas the grammarians generally use the more specific ἀρχαία and νέα to distinguish the definite periods. Aristotle has no intention of marking out specific periods in the history of comedy. It was still too early for that. But the broad distinctions that he draws between "the former and the recent comedies" became the starting point for the early grammarians, who received their impulse and their methods largely from him. Almost every succeeding writer accepted as the principal criterion for the various periods the extent and the quality of the σκώμματα employed. In the last passage quoted

the division into two periods lies on the surface: (1) the period of open abuse, roughly the fifth century, (2) the period of mitigated license, the fourth century down to the time of writing. Taking strictly into account the reference to Crates, we could make three periods: (1) the period before Crates, (2) that of Aristophanes, (3) from Aristophanes to Aristotle—for we know that *αἰσχρολογία* characterizes Aristophanes much better than *ἰπύνοια*. Aristotle doubtless did not intend, however, that the *καινή* should begin with Crates. He mentions him incidentally, very much as he mentions Agathon in the *Poetics*, as the precursor of the change that afterward prevailed. I cannot agree, therefore, with Wilamowitz (*Herakles* I, p. 134, note) when he says that the comedy afterwards designated as *μέση* (the *καινή* of Aristotle) was originally intended as a division according to content and not according to time (*begrifflich*, not *zeitlich*). The fact that Plato is the regular representative in the ancient accounts of the *μέση*, though he was a contemporary of Aristophanes, upon which Wilamowitz's assertion seems to rest, will be explained later on. Certainly we do not find in him that mildness which Aristotle ascribes to the middle comedy. To go back to Aristotle, one fact deserves especial emphasis. He says not a word about the chorus.

After the development of the new comedy of Philemon and Menander it was possible to make either a broad division of Attic comedy into two periods on the basis of the presence or absence of the chorus and other characteristics equally marked, or to extend Aristotle's twofold division, on the basis of the *σκόμματα* employed, designating his *καινή* as middle, or lastly to make a still more subtle division suggested by the reference to Crates. Naturally considerations of language, metre, myth, etc., would also be taken into account. The first, the twofold division, which Kaibel attributes to the Pergamene school, appears in several ancient accounts; the second, which modern scholars have adopted, seems to have found very little favor in ancient times, whereas the third, which seems the least acceptable of all, is found in a large majority of the writers *περὶ κωμῳδίας*. It will be necessary to examine these various traditions to ascertain whether or not Fielitz's position is tenable.

The anonymous writer *περὶ κωμῳδίας* v (Dübner and Bergk),

whose account is the most straightforward of all, recognizes the three divisions, τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον, τὸ δὲ νέον, τὸ δὲ μέσον. In the analysis of the differences between them, however, he apparently leaves τὸ μέσον out of account. Hence editors have bracketed these words as an interpolation. But Kaibel (*l. c.*, p. 63) believes that the whole account is a careless Byzantine contamination, undeserving of correction, adding that τὸ μέσον, if due to an interpolation, would have been put in its proper position between the two others. I agree with Kaibel that the words belong where they are, but for a very different reason, which has been strangely overlooked. The account proceeds: τῆς δὲ νέας διαφέρει ἡ παλαιὰ κωμῳδία χρόνῳ, διαλέκτῳ, ὕλῃ, μέτρῳ, διασκευῇ. Χρόνῳ μὲν καθὼς ἡ μὲν νέα ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἡ δὲ παλαιὰ ἐπὶ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν εἶχε τὴν ἀκμὴν. ----- διασκευῇ δὲ, ὅτι ἐν μὲν τῇ νέᾳ χοροῦ οὐκ ἔδει, ἐν ἐκείνῃ δὲ δεῖ. 2. καὶ αὕτῃ δὲ ἡ παλαιὰ ἑαυτῆς διαφέρει. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐν Ἀττικῇ πρῶτον συστησάμενοι τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς κωμῳδίας (ἦσαν δὲ οἱ περὶ Σουσαρίωνα) καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα εἰσήγον ἀτάκτως, καὶ μόνος ἦν γέλωσ τὸ κατασκευαζόμενον. 3. ἐπιγεγόμενος δὲ ὁ Κρατῖνος κατέστησε μὲν πρῶτον τὰ ἐν τῇ κωμῳδίᾳ πρόσωπα μεχρὶ τριῶν, στήσας τὴν ἀταξίαν, καὶ τὰ χαριέντι τῆς κωμῳδίας τὸ ὠφέλιμον προσέθηκε, τοὺς κακῶς πράττουσας διαβάλλων ----. 4. ἀλλ' ἔτι μὲν καὶ οὗτος τῆς ἀρχαιότητος μετεῖχε καὶ ἡρέμα πῶς τῆς ἀταξίας. ὁ μόντοι γε Ἀριστοφάνης μεθοδεύσας τεχνικώτερον ---- καὶ οὕτω πᾶσαν κωμῳδίαν ἐμελέτησε. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τούτου δράμα Πλούτος νεωτερίζει κατὰ τὸ πλάσμα. τὴν τε γὰρ ὑπόθεσιν οὐκ ἀληθῆ ἔχει καὶ χορῶν ἐστέρηται, ὅπερ τῆς νεωτέρας ὑπῆρχε κωμῳδίας. To my mind it is perfectly clear that the author adheres to the three divisions throughout. At first he draws the broad, general distinction between the παλαιὰ and the νέα, then the finer distinction between the two kinds of παλαιὰ. τὸ ἀρχαῖον is represented by Susarion, and is characterized by crude technique. The next is the period of perfected technique, represented by Aristophanes. Cratinus falls between the two. The whole ancient comedy reached its highest point at the time of the Peloponnesian war. Aristophanes was not only the best poet of his own period, but of his age as well. Then comes a different kind, well distinguished from the preceding, but already foreshadowed in the later plays of Aristophanes—τὸ νέον. The strict

use of ἀρχαῖος and παλαιός places it beyond doubt that τὸ μέσον was intended to designate the second period of the first division. The account is perfectly logical, for the lack of a chorus in the new comedy differentiated it distinctly from both the others, whereas the difference in the first two periods was one of species, not of genus. The division may be represented by the scheme I παλαιά, (a) ἀρχαία (b) μέση, II νέα.

From the fact that the acme of the new comedy is placed ἐπὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Fielitz argues that the comedy of the fourth century was classed with the new, because Philemon alone of those whom we assign to the new comedy had yet produced plays "*Alexandro regnante.*" But the very fact that Menander, τὸ ἄστρον τῆς νέας κωμωδίας, flourished after Alexander's death shows that the phrase is used, not unsuitably, as a designation of the Alexandrine period. According to this writer the μέση continued until the loss of the chorus.

The same account occurs again, incorporated bodily in the longer notice in Cramer's *Anecdota* I, 8, (Dübner ix a, 68, Bergk viii, 14). Very similar is the notice of Diomedes (Suet. *ed.* Reifferscheid, p. 9): *Poetae primi comici fuerunt Susarion Mullus Magnes; hi ueteris disciplinae iocularia quaedam minus scite ac venuste pronuntiabant . . . . . Secunda aetate fuerunt Aristophanes Eupolis et Cratinus, qui uel principum vitia sectati acerbissimas comoedias composuerunt. Tertia aetas fuit Menandri Diphili et Philemonis, qui omnem acerbiteratem comoediae mitigauerunt atque argumenta multiplicia graecis erroribus secuti sunt.* Diomedes does not mention the chorus elsewhere. He implies that Attic comedy always had a chorus. It will be noticed that in addition to the technique (cf. *minus scite* and *ἀτάκτως*) he takes up again the criterion of abusiveness. This is entirely the basis of Anon. ix a, l. 150 ff. (Dübner; viii, 24 Bergk), who makes three classes *πρώτη, δευτέρα, τρίτη*, (1) *σκώμματα φανερά*, down to Eupolis, (2) *τὰ συμβολικὰ σκώμματα*, Eupolis, Cratinus, Pherecrates, Plato, and Aristophanes, and (3) *σκώμματα εἰς δούλους μόνους καὶ ξένους*, Menander and Philemon. Here, also, the chorus is left out of consideration.

So far no serious objection can be made to the threefold division of comedy, except as to the ignorant misapplication of Aristotle's suggestion about *σκώμματα*, which puts Aristophanes

and his contemporaries among the milder poets. But another class of writers, following largely the same principle, fall into still greater error. As an example may be cited Anon. IX a, 1-58 (Dübner; VIII, 1-10 Bergk)—a miserable compilation, full of glaring contradictions and mistakes. The hand of the compiler or of a still later interpolator is detected everywhere.<sup>30</sup> The first part is a consistent though not very intelligent account of comedy, with special reference to the element of personal travesty. The definitions and divisions correspond to those just quoted from l. 150 ff. of the same extract. But the compiler adds: *γέγονε δὲ τῆς μὲν πρώτης κωμῳδίας ἄριστος τεχνίτης οὗτος τε ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης καὶ Εὐπολις καὶ Κρατίνος· τῆς δὲ δευτέρας Πλάτων, οὐχ ὁ φιλόσοφος· τῆς δὲ νέας Μένανδρος*. The same divisions and the same poets are found in the short account of Andronicus and in the verses of Jo. Tzetzēs *περὶ διαφορᾶς ποιητῶν*. It would seem that in their sources these writers found lists of poets made out on some principle of division, as well as divisions into period of comic literature, drawn up on other principles, and ignorantly tried to combine them.<sup>31</sup> But none of these writers was quite so stupid as Euanthius, who gives as the three divisions *vetus, satyra, nova*. These writers also omit to mention the chorus in this connection.

I shall mention next those writers who seem to recognize only two divisions of comedy, old and new.<sup>32</sup> Anon. VIII (Dübner) seems to belong to this class, for under the heading *τῶν τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητῶν ὀνόματα καὶ δράματα* he mentions Theopompus, Strattis, Pherecrates, Crates, Plato, Teleclides, and

<sup>30</sup> IX a contains almost all the other accounts. The passage under consideration is found also in Anon. IV and IX b (IX Bergk).

<sup>31</sup> This supposition would account for the fact that Cratinus, Eupolis, and Aristophanes, the representatives of unbridled license in writers who recognize the twofold division (e. g., Hor. *Sat.* 1. 4, 1 ff.), are sometimes given as representatives of the *σκώμματα συμβολικά*, more satisfactorily, I think, than the explanation proposed by Hendrickson in *Am. Jour. Phil.*, 1894, p. 80, note. Such lists of poets are found in DÜBNER, III and VIII. Aristotle in *Poetics* 1449 B, 8, seemed to favor such a classification. On p. 15 the same writer suggests that the confusion in Euanthius' account arose from an attempt to harmonize the common threefold division with a twofold in which *satyra* was equivalent to *ἀρχαία*. This seems very probable. Of course "*satyra*" refers to the second division of the *ἀρχαία*, which would more correctly be called *μέση* or *δευτέρα*.

<sup>32</sup> Omitting the passing allusions of various Roman writers, collected by Fielitz, and of Plutarch.

Phrynichus, that is, an indiscriminate list of poets of the fifth and fourth centuries. The article *de comoedia et tragoedia*, published by Usener (*Rh. Mus.* 28, 417 ff.) distinguishes between the *prior ac vetus comoedia ridicularis*, whose author was Susarion, and the later comedy, represented by Plautus and Terence among the Romans, the writers of which, *omissa maledicendi libertate, privatorum hominum vitam cum hilaritate imitabantur*. So far no mention of the chorus. Tzetzes, in his verses *περὶ κωμῳδίας* v. 68 ff., mentions only the *παλαιά* and the *νέα*, the former having the chorus, the latter not. The context does not show how far the first division extends. This is true, also, of Horace's *chorus turpiter obticuit*, which will be considered later. The two *Vitae* of Aristophanes state that Aristophanes *πρῶτος καὶ τῆς νέας κωμῳδίας τὸν τρόπον ἐπέδειξεν ἐν τῷ Κωκάλῳ, ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβόμενοι Μένανδρος τε καὶ Φιλῆμων ἐδραματούργησαν*. If the writer meant that the new comedy began with the later plays of Aristophanes, which is by no means a necessary inference, we shall see later that he was in the wrong. The same holds true, so far as the chorus is concerned, of Platonius who dates the chorusless middle comedy from the same period. Anon. III makes the same threefold division that prevails to-day, but says nothing of the chorus.

Two significant facts as regards these notices should be emphasized. Firstly, the poets who are assigned to the middle comedy, (omitting Anon. III, who mentions Antiphanes and Stephanus) are Eupolis, Cratinus, Pherecrates, *etc.*, Plato always, and generally Aristophanes, but never Antiphanes, Alexis and others who belong to what we know as the middle comedy.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, there is no confusion between the representatives of the comedy of the fourth and of the third centuries. Now, however faulty these classifications are, if the comedy of the fourth century had been recognized as forming a distinct epoch, the poets of this period would not have failed to receive mention. The question arises, therefore, whether this

<sup>33</sup> I refer, of course, only to those accounts which I have quoted above. Suidas, Pollux, Athenaeus, the scholiasts, *etc.*, often mention the poets of the fourth century as belonging to the middle comedy. But these passages are not taken into consideration here because they give no information on the question at issue.



period was considered as belonging to that of Plato or to that of Menander. Since the criterion of *κωμφοδεῖν αἰνυματοδῶς* or *καθόλου* undoubtedly was first employed to distinguish the post-Aristophanic comedy from that which preceded it, we can most readily explain the fact that Aristophanes and Plato are often assigned to the second period, and that Menander and Philemon never are (Apul. *Florid.*, 3, 16 is a palpable error), by the supposition that the grammarians from whom these notices sprung had no clear idea of any distinction between the fourth century comedy and that of Aristophanes. We certainly cannot concede the claim made by Fielitz that the new comedy was considered to embrace the middle by the grammarians of the twofold division, because a few times, in Suidas and in passing allusions of late Roman writers, a poet of the new is assigned to the middle. The second significant fact will make my point clearer. Amidst all the confusion that pervades these notices, the lack of a chorus is constantly kept as a distinct characteristic of the new comedy, and in Anon. v, where the old and the middle are combined under the common head *παλαιά*, it is expressly stated that the *παλαιά* (not the *ἀρχαία*) required the chorus. Perhaps some significance should be attached to this fact also, that in many of the notices the chorus is not mentioned at all. Diomedes (Suet. *ed.* Reif., p. 11) certainly thought that Attic comedy always had a chorus. After various remarks about the chorus in general, he adds: *Latinae igitur comoediae chorum non habent*. Perhaps the chorus had not disappeared even from the new comedy so far as is generally believed.

Fielitz further remarks that the characteristics of middle comedy, as laid down by Anon. III, are really those of new comedy. He therefore proposes to cut out the references to the former as interpolations. But, as Kaibel has shown (*l. c.* p. 63), none of the characteristics assigned to middle comedy belong to it exclusively, whether it be the nature of the myths employed, the language, the metres, or the general spirit. The predominant traits of one period are found in the other two also, more or less modified. The designation of the comedy of the fourth century as the middle comedy is convenient as marking the transition period, even if it is not in accordance with some of the grammarians. To class

this period with the new, as Fielitz demands, would be to ignore one difference that is more marked than any other—the existence of the chorus in the fourth century and its absence in the third. We should be nearer the truth if we should class it with the old.

This brings us to the causes assigned for the abolition of the chorus. They are two in number: (1) the restriction of personal satire (a) by legal measures, (b) by intimidation of the poets, and (2) the withdrawal of choregic support.

It is hard to see how the restriction of the privilege of lampooning important personages, *ὀνομαστί* or *συμβολικῶς*, whether produced by law or by threats of vengeance, should have had anything to do with the abandonment of the chorus. And yet this is the teaching of many ancient authorities, and not a few modern. Horace heads the list with the verses (*Ep.* 2, 3, 281):

*successit uetus his comoedia, non sine multa  
laude; sed in uitium libertas excidit et uim  
dignam lege regi; lex est accepta chorusque  
turpiter obticuit sublato iure nocendi.*

A poet may be excused an occasional *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. But in this case Horace has misled others on a point of history. The *Vita Aristophanis* refers to a *ψήφισμα χορηγικὸν μὴ ὀνομαστί κωμωδεῖν*, which took away τὸ αἴτιον κωμωδίας, τὸ σκώπτειν, resulting in the chorusless *Cocalus* and *Plutus*. But it also mentions the default of the choregi, which is more likely to have caused the curtailment of the chorus in these plays. Euanthius also knew of a law in Athens *ne quisquam in alterum carmen infame proponeret*, but the result was that the poets, not the chorus, “became silent”—which is logical if not true. Perhaps Euanthius here as often confounded things Roman with Greek, having in mind the Roman law (*Cic. Resp.* 4, 10, 12). The scholia to Aristophanes furnish us with a fragmentary history of the legislation against scurrility.<sup>34</sup> A law was passed under Morychides 440/39) and remained in force three years (*Schol. Ach.* 67). Its

<sup>34</sup> For a full collection of such notices, of which the above are the most important, see HAUPT, *de lege quam ad poetas comicos pertinuisse ferunt*, p. 36 ff. Haupt shows that license did not cease until Alexander, and then not wholly. I follow Bergk, *Kl. Sch.* II, 444 ff.; cf. MEINKE, *C. G. F.* I, 34 ff. Lübke's work on the subject has not been accessible to me.

author may have been the Antimachus whom Aristophanes taunts in *Ach.* 1149 (Schol. *ad loc.*) Pseudo-Xen. *Resp. Ath.* 2, 18 probably refers to public opinion rather than to legislation. A certain Syracosius is said to have introduced a measure against the poets (Schol. *Av.* 1297). Droysen (*Rh. Mus.* 4, 59) conjectures with probability that this was intended only to prevent reference to the unfortunate affair of the Hermae and the mysteries. Anon. *περὶ κωμ.* IX a (Bergk VIII) evidently had this law in mind, but he wrongly assigns its authorship to Alcibiades.

After the fall of the Democracy, says Platonius, *ἐνέπιπτε τοῖς ποιηταῖς φόβος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τινα προφανῶς σκώπτειν, δίκας ἀπαιτούντων τῶν ὑβριζομένων.* Then he tells how Eupolis was drowned by those against whom he composed the *Baptae*. The Eupolis story occurs again and again, with interesting variations (Mein. I, 119 ff.), but it remained for Kanngiesser<sup>35</sup> to elaborate this and similar stories into a touching chapter on the ill-treatment of the old comic poets. Now there is no doubt that the poets were persecuted in the courts by the objects of their satire (Bergk. *l. c.* p. 456), but the only known result in the best authenticated case, the attacks of Cleon on Aristophanes, was not the silencing of the poet, but a fresh attack in the *Knights*.

This is the extent of our positive knowledge of legislation against the liberty of the poets and of the attempts to intimidate them. We may judge of the effects in the plays of Aristophanes. Bergk thought that he detected a comparative mildness of tone in the plays produced about the time of the Four Hundred and of the Thirty. But comedy quickly assumed again its old freedom as soon as circumstances allowed. It is impossible to believe that, either in the fifth century or in the fourth, when a milder spirit prevailed, the existence of the chorus was dependent on the license to abuse.<sup>36</sup> The old authorities themselves furnish us with a good excuse for incredulity. It is a curious fact that those

<sup>35</sup> *Alt-komische Bühne zu Athen*, p. 124.

<sup>36</sup> See Croiset, *Hist. Litt. Grec.* III, p. 583. I think with Leo (*Quaes. Aristoph.*, Bonn, 1873, p. 11 ff.) that the whole story of the restraint of license by law had its origin in an imaginative interpretation by the grammarians of certain passages in the comedies themselves, and that such laws as were actually enacted were for the protection of the higher state officials.

who attribute the disappearance of lampooning to law also record that at first the poets were compelled by law *ὀνομαστὶ κωμωδεῖν* as a means of checking lawlessness in high places.<sup>37</sup>

The second reason assigned for the abolition of the chorus must receive more respectful consideration, inasmuch as it has until now remained undisputed. The anonymous writers *περὶ κωμωδίας* have nothing to say about this point. But Platonius, after the reference to the Eupolis episode, adds: *καὶ ἐπέλιπον οἱ χορηγοί· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι προθυμίαν εἶχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς χορηγοὺς τοὺς τὰς δαπάνας τοῖς χορευταῖς παρέχοντας χειροτονεῖν. 8. τὸν γοῦν Αἰολοσίκωνα Ἀριστοφάνης ἐδίδαξεν, ὃς οὐκ ἔχει τὰ χορικά μέλη. τῶν γὰρ χορηγῶν μὴ χειροτονημένων καὶ τῶν χορευτῶν οὐκ ἔχόντων τὰς τροφὰς ὑπεξηρέθη τῆς κωμωδίας τὰ χορευτῶν μέλη καὶ τῶν ἰποθέσεων ὁ τρόπος μετεβλήθη. 9. σκόπου γὰρ ὄντος τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ κωμωδίᾳ τοῦ σκώπτειν δῆμους καὶ δικαστὰς καὶ στρατηγούς, παρὲς ὃ Ἀριστοφάνης τὸ συνήθως ἀποσκῶψαι διὰ τὸν πολλὸν φόβον Αἴολον τὸ δρᾶμα τὸ γραφὲν τοῖς τραγωδοῖς ὡς κακῶς ἔχον διασύρει. 10. τοιοῦτος οὖν ἔστιν ὁ τῆς μέσης κωμωδίας τύπος, οἷός ἐστιν ὁ Αἰολοσίκων Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ οἱ Ὀδυσσεῖς Κρατίνου καὶ πλείστα τῶν παλαιῶν δραμάτων οὔτε χορικὰ οὔτε παραβάσεις ἔχοντα. Then in § 14: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντα παραβάσεις κατ' ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον ἐδιδάχθη καθ' ὃν ὁ δῆμος ἐκράτει, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας λοιπὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου μεθισταμένης καὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας κρατούσης. Then follows §§ 7–8 again, again the admission that other such plays as the Ὀδυσσεῖς are to be found in the old comedy, but under the oligarchy, and again the notice of the failure of the choregia. To this should be added § 10 and the interpolated § 11 of the Vita, which says that the *Cocalus* and *Plutus* were brought out under similar circumstances. In both these accounts are elements that arouse suspicion, especially the insistence on the fear of the poets and the “choregic law” against scurrility as helping to bring about the change. Platonius was an extremely careless compiler, as is shown by the repetitions.<sup>38</sup> He is strangely ignorant of the nature of the early choregia, supposing that the choregi were elected by the*

<sup>37</sup> ANON. IV, IX a, IX b, Thom. Mag. (Düb. xv), Cic. *Resp.* 4. 10, 11, THEMISTIUS *Or.* 8, 110 B.

<sup>38</sup> FIELTIZ, *l. c.*, p. 28. Leo, *Quaest. Aristoph.*, shows in detail that the whole article is a curious hodgepodge of several parallel accounts.

people, and that the choreutae could be selected without choregi. But this is probably blind inference from the reported failure of choral odes in the plays mentioned. Platonius himself practically admits this by prefacing his citation of the *Aiolosicon* by "at any rate" (γούν). The statement that the parabasis was lacking in the middle comedy and sometimes in the old is doubtless correct, but the explanation that it occurred in the latter only under the oligarchy is false. Cratinus died about 420, and the three plays cited of Aristophanes were brought out in the second decade of the next century, as was also the *Ecclesiazusae*, which has no parabasis. We are told that the plays mentioned had οὔτε χορικὰ οὔτε παραβάσεις. The lack of a parabasis seems to have been the only ground for this sweeping statement. The *Ὀδυσσεῖς* certainly had a chorus, as we know from the fragments. See Kock, C. G. F., I, 43 and 44, Meineke, fr. v, and Bergk, *Commentt. de reliq. comaed. att.*, p. 160 ff. Kaibel, *Hermes* 30, p. 25, makes it exceedingly probable that it had also a second chorus and a parabasis as well. The *Αἰολοσίκων* had a chorus of women (Kock, *ibid.* I, comment on fr. 10, and Meineke II, fr. x, XI, XII). The *Κωκάλος* probably had at least as important a chorus as the *Πλούτος* (Meineke II, fr. VI). Thus Platonius is refuted by his own examples. The occasional omission of the parabasis in the old comedy is significant as showing that its entire abandonment in the middle comedy was due to purely natural causes. Comedy had outgrown it, along with certain other crudities and exuberances. Perhaps the cost of the choregia was thereby lessened somewhat, though we cannot consider this the real cause of the change. The loss of the parabasis involved no serious change in the structure of comedy, as we see from the *Lysistrata*. The omission of the choral odes was a more serious matter, which could have been caused only by the collapse of the choregia. Now it happens that we have a few ancient notices to this effect.

A scholiast to Arist. *Ran.* 404 gives this important information: ἐπὶ γούν τοῦ Καλλίου τούτου<sup>39</sup> φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ὅτι σύνδου ἔδοξε χορηγεῖν τὰ Διονύσια τοῖς τραγικοῖς καὶ κωμικοῖς. This is verified by an inscription of the early part of the fourth century (C. I. A. II, 280), which may refer to either tragedy or comedy, by another, dating not long after Euclid's archonship, record-

<sup>39</sup> Probably the archon of 406/5, possibly, however, of 412/11.

ing the joint choregia of two residents of Eleusis at both tragic and comic contests (Philios, *Ath. Mitth.*, 1894, p. 20), and by a third from the middle of this century relating to comedy alone (Köhler, *Ath. Mitth.* 7, 348). The next part of the same scholium rests on the commentator's own authority: ὥστε ἴσως ἦν τις καὶ περὶ τὸν Ληναϊκὸν ἀγῶνα συστολή, χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλῶ τιμὴ καὶ καθάπαξ περιεῖλε Κινησίας τὰς χορηγίας· ἐξ οὗ Στράτις ἐν τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν δράματι ἔφη σκηνὴ μὲν τοῦ χοροκτόνου Κινησίῳ. In the first place the scholiast misunderstands the purpose of the new arrangement mentioned by Aristotle. That two choregi were to take the place of one in providing for a chorus indicates a desire not to stint the chorodidascalus (συστολή) but to provide for him as usual, at the same time making the burden upon each individual choregus lighter. The next statement is false, for we know that both tragic and comic choregiae continued long after Callias. Schol. *Ran.* 153, however, also accuses this same Cinesias of an attempt against the choregia: ὁ Κινησίας ἐπραγματεύσατο κατὰ τῶν κωμικῶν ὡς εἰεν ἀχορήγητοι. On the strength of this and the notices of Platonius and the Vita above quoted, even so careful a scholar as A. Müller (B-A., p. 342, concludes that the comic choregia was abolished after the Peloponnesian War.<sup>40</sup> It seems to me, however, that the whole tradition as regards Cinesias admits of a probable explanation. Cinesias, the dithyrambic poet, was not only repulsive in appearance, vile in his personal habits, and impious, if we may believe the poet Plato, Aristophanes, Anaxilas, and Lysias, but also a very poor poet. Aristophanes constantly ridicules his verses, and Plato, *Gorg.* 501 E, condemns them. Plutarch *de mus.* 30, 1141 E, after explaining some changes that had taken place in musical accompaniments, quotes from the *Chiron* of Pherecrates a complaint of Poetry about certain poets who had introduced disastrous innovations. The following is the reference to Cinesias (Mein. C. G. F. II, p. 327):

Κινησίας δὲ ὁ κατάρτος Ἀττικὸς,  
 ἔξαρμοῦλους καμπὰς ποιῶν ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς,  
 ἀπολώλεκέ μ' οὕτως, ὥστε τῆς ποιήσεως  
 τῶν διθυράμβων, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν,  
 ἀριστερ' αὐτοῦ φαίνεται τὰ δεξιὰ.

<sup>40</sup>So BRINCK, *Insc. Graec. ad choregiam pertin.*, Halle, 1888, p. 94.

At the end of the paragraph Plutarch adds: ἄλλοι δὲ κωμωδοποιοὶ ἔδειξαν τὴν ἀτοπίαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν μουσικὴν κατακερματικῶτων. Cinesias then, in the opinion of Pherecrates and Plutarch, cut to pieces and killed dithyrambic poetry. Since the chorus was itself the dithyramb, Strattis goes no further than they when he applies to him the epithet *χοροκτόνος*. This suggested to the ancient commentator, who knew the hatred of Cinesias for his persecutors, the explanation *καθάπαξ περιέλαξ τὰς χορηγίας*. This, I believe, is the history of the whole tradition.

But we do not lack positive evidence of considerable importance for the existence of comic chorus after the time of its reported abolition. Besides the references to it in Aristotle *Pol.* 3, 3, 1276 B, 5, *Eth. Nic.* 4, 6, 1123 A, 22, the last paragraph of the extract *περὶ κωμωδίας* recovered from the wreck of the second part of the *Poetics* by Bernays,<sup>41</sup> and Theophrastus, *Charac.* VI, the newly found *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* gives the authoritative notice (§ 56): *πρότερον δὲ καὶ κωμῶδοις καθίστη (ὁ ἄρχων) πέντε, νῦν δὲ τούτους αἱ φυλαὶ φέρουσιν*. As late as 325 B. C., therefore, the comic choregia was regularly provided for. The first intimation of the decline of the chorus is given in the fragment of Menander beginning *ὥσπερ τῶν χορῶν οὐ πάντες ἄδουσι* (Meineke IV, 117). But this may refer to the dithyrambic chorus. The only choregic inscription from Athens after this period which mentions a comic contest, (*CIA* II, 1289, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, p. 417—307/6 B. C.) does not give evidence one way or another on the chorus.<sup>42</sup> But the fact that outside of Athens<sup>43</sup> the comic choregia lingered a long time still

<sup>41</sup> *Ergänzung zu Aristotles Poetik, Rh. Mus.* 8, 561 ff., reprinted in *Zwei Abhandlungen über die aristotelischen Theorie des Drama*. See Vahlen's and Christ's editions of the *Poetics*.

<sup>42</sup> KÖHLER in *Ath. Mitt.* 3, 287 judged from the fact that the poet and actor, not the tribe and didascalus, are mentioned in this inscription, that both tragedies and comedies were given without choruses. BRINK, *Insc. Graec. ad choregiam pertin.*, pp. 90, 99, has shown the falsity of this assumption.

<sup>43</sup> AESCH. *Tim.* 157. At Delos both comic and tragic choregiae are recorded down to the end of the III cent.; *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 7, 122 ff. Choruses of citizens were provided at Iasos in the II cent. (Le Bas, *As. Min.* 281; Lüders, *Dion. Künstler* p. 181). Cf. the *χορὸς πολιτικός* in the late Thespian insc. *CIG*, 1586. In the inscriptions from Samos and Teos of the II cent. (*CIG*, 3091; BRINK, p. 211, 212; *CIG*, 3089) the comic choregia is mentioned. Seven comic choreutae are given for each festival in the Soteric inscription from Delphi from the last part of the III cent. Cf. LÜDERS, p. 187 ff.; WESCHER and FOUART, *Insc. de Delphes* I, nos. 3-8; DITTENBERGER, p. 404. As to the function of the chorus at these later festivals nothing positive is known.

makes it advisable to adopt a conservative position on the question, and to believe that in Athens the comic chorus was retained for some time, in some form, after the beginning of the third century. This belief finds confirmation in the extant fragments, as we shall see later on.

The existence of the chorus in the middle comedy can therefore be no longer called in question. But it may be said that it was not the same kind of a chorus as that in the old comedy. Here, also, we should not go further than the known facts warrant.

Even in the fifth century the choregi were sometimes inclined to be parsimonious. That this tendency would seriously affect comedy itself, and not simply hamper the didascalus in his training of the chorus, cannot be inferred from Arist. *Ach.* 1155, where the choregus is attacked for not having furnished a dinner after the performance, nor from Eupolis *fab. inc.* VII (Mein. II, 551), where the choregus is called "dirty," and still less from Arist. *Ran.* 404 (see schol.) On the other hand, it is rendered improbable by the fact that the Archon was expressly empowered to prevent any remissness on the part of the choregi (Xen. *Hieron* 9, 4). Still it is quite conceivable that in times of great financial distress the Archon and the poets would have allowed considerable curtailment of expenses. To some such circumstance we may ascribe the cutting down of the choral parts of the four plays mentioned in the ancient notices.

The arrangement made under Callias was certainly an attempt to sustain the chorus in its former prominence in comedy and in tragedy. This arrangement lasted until after 350. This must have reduced the burden of the comic choregi to a comparatively small amount. There is no reason to suppose that citizens became less willing than before to provide the necessary money. The orators abound in references to the liberality of the choregi. It is true that the tribes sometimes neglected to appoint choregi for the cyclic choruses (Dem. *Mid.* 13). But the case was quite different in comedy, for which it was the Archon's duty to appoint the choregi. Early in the fourth century the number of comedies for each festival was increased to five. This was due not only to the lessened expense of the choregia, but also to the



increasing popularity of comedy.<sup>44</sup> When the still further change was made—the transfer of the appointing power from the Archon to the tribes—is not known. But it must have been between the date of the latest synchoregic inscription (after 350) and the date of composition of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* (ca. 325).<sup>45</sup> From this time on neglect on the part of the tribes or illiberality on the part of the choregi might often result in serious curtailment of the duties of the chorus. There was no longer the control of the Archon, but only the spirit of rivalry between the tribes, to maintain the chorus in its former splendor. Finally Demetrius of Phaleron entirely reorganized the choregia, probably in 307, making the Demos the nominal choregus for all contests, and laying upon the agonethet a large part, at any rate, of the expense of the festival. This would encourage still more the tendency to cut down the expenses of the chorus, and explains the occasional omission of the dramatic contests which the inscriptions begin to record soon afterwards. The history of the choregia, therefore, would lead us to believe that the comic chorus was generally well sustained until after 350; that before 325 it was possibly neglected, and that after 307 it was probably rapidly reduced in importance until it finally disappeared. No doubt Philemon, and Menander, who was under the influence of Aristotle's teaching, resisted the tendency as long as possible. But the ties of the chorus to comedy were gradually growing weaker. In the course of the century comedy had had time to adapt itself to the changing conditions, so that when at last the chorus was abandoned there was no sudden change in the nature of comedy itself, such as would have resulted from the loss of the chorus a century earlier.

It remains to discuss the character of the chorus of the middle comedy. We are told by Platonius and the Vita that the *Plutus* is a representative of the second period. But the diminution in the importance of its chorus may have been due to peculiar

<sup>44</sup> HAIGH, *Att. Theat.* p. 81, says that it was due to "the disappearance of the chorus from comedy." But the first known occurrence of the new arrangement was at the performance of the *Plutus*, which itself has a not inconsiderable chorus.

<sup>45</sup> There is no reason for thinking with Wilamowitz, *Aristotle und Athen* I, 254, note, that the increase to five and the tribal choregia were parts of the same change.

circumstances. Besides, the corrupt state of our manuscripts makes it impossible to determine how much more prominent the chorus was in the play as performed in 388 than it is in the present text. The *χοροῦ* of the MSS. is probably an indication of the loss of the original odes of an intermezzic character (as so many of the odes of Aristophanes), rather than the sign of an intermission.<sup>46</sup> But apart from this, the part still left to the chorus is exceedingly instructive for our present purpose. The choreutæ mingle freely with the actors, both in the prologue and in the exodos, and take a spirited part in the conversation—an excellent illustration of the point on which I insisted in the chapter on tragedy, that a chorus whose songs are mere interludes is likely to be given a lively part in dialogue and action. Böckh, *Staatshaushalt.*, p. 493, says of the *Plutus*: “So blieb der Chor nun als handelnde und redende Person stehen.” For the stage question the “*handelnde Person*” is all-important.

The comic poets of the fourth century, even the best of them, were by no means averse to taking a model from the fifth century and adapting it to the taste of the time. But some of the most successful plays of the old comedy were so interwoven with allusions to current events and to contemporary personalities that many of the brightest hits would have been lost upon an audience a decade or two later. We can readily understand why they were not reproduced in later times. And yet the impression they made upon the generation that heard them, and the fame of their success that lingered still in the next succeeding generations, can be paralleled only by the success and influence of Euripides and Menander. As the popular demand for the masterpieces of tragedy resulted in the admission into the programme of the Dionysia of a *παλαιὰ τραγωδία* alongside of the *καινά*, so we might

<sup>46</sup> So RITTER, *de Aristoph. Pluto*, Bonn, 1828, p. 11 ff. He accepts the tradition of the abolition of the choregia, but thinks that the poet or volunteers would have supplied the necessary money. His opinion on the late chorus is sound: *Talem chorum qualem in Pluto uidemus, in multis tum mediae tum nouae comoediae fabulis fuisse iudico.* Ritter is one of the few who have properly distinguished the function of the chorus in the stasima from its part in the action. *Cf. p. 24.*

The Tischendorf fragment of Menander, Kock, *C. G. F.* III, no. 530, also bears the inscription *Χοροῦ*, thus confirming the statement of the *Vita Aristoph.*, § 11, though of course the sign is due to a grammarian, and not to the poet.

reasonably expect to find in the fourth century some echo of the famous comedies of former times. But no *παλαιὰ κωμῳδία* appears in the *didascalia* of the fourth century, and in the third the play selected is always by a poet of the new comedy. However, on this evidence alone, is not the assertion too sweeping that no play of the old comedy was ever reproduced? Is not the only safe inference that, so far as we know, no fifth century comedies were reproduced as *παλαιαί*? In order to be presentable at all many pieces would have had to be entirely revised. Now it was the custom in Athens for a poet to produce as new, often under a new title, an old play of his own or of another which he had revised, no matter how slightly. In fact, in this way alone was he allowed to bring out an old play, in the fifth century at any rate. It often happened in the fourth century that a poet revised and reproduced under his own name a successful piece of a rival. So Alexis revised the *Ἄνθεια* and *Ἀλείπτρα* of Antiphanes and the *Ὅμοια* of Antidotus, Epicrates the *Δύσπρατος* of Antiphanes, while both Alexis and Ophilio plundered Eubulus, etc., etc.<sup>47</sup> Sometimes the changes were trifling (*cf.* Ath. 3, 127 B: *ἐν ὀλίγοις σφόδρα*). Now such a play as the *Acharnians* would require a complete rewriting, but this is no reason why it should not have furnished the ground-plan of a new piece. The *Peace*, *Clouds*, and *Plutus* were much changed in their second editions, and yet essentially the same. The *Frogs* would have needed little editing to make it as fresh as when first reproduced. These pieces are successfully brought out on the modern stage, with all their obscure allusions. When, therefore, we find among the titles of the middle comedy many that are identical with those of the old comedy, and detect under new names the subjects and treatment of old plays, what supposition is more reasonable than that we have in them the vestiges of the old comedy, exactly as we refer a play of Plautus back to the new comedy? This is hypothesis, but it accounts for the facts better than the other hypothesis, which leaves a surprising phenomenon unexplained.

It seems to me not too daring, therefore, to suggest, for example, that the *Εἰρήνη* of Eubulus, the *Ἰππεῖς* of Antiphanes, the *Πλοῦτος* of Nicostratus,<sup>48</sup> the *Λήμναι* of Alexis and Antiphanes, bore a close

<sup>47</sup> MEINEKE I, 31 f.; KAIBEL in *Hermes* 24, 44.

<sup>48</sup> So КОСК, C. G. F. II, 226.

relationship to plays of Aristophanes, and that the *Κένταυρος* of Antiphanes was modelled on the *Ἄγριοι* of Pherecrates. Probably a still commoner form of borrowing was the adaptation to a new set of characters of an old conception, of which the *Ἰχθυες* of Archippus furnishes an excellent example. The *Birds* of Aristophanes undoubtedly suggested the plot and its treatment. A chorus of fishes replaces that of birds. Remarkable similarities are pointed out by Kaibel, *Hermes* 24, 49 ff. Though in point of time Archippus belonged rather to the old comedy, yet, as Meineke says (I, 205), the *Ἰχθυες* is entirely in the manner of the middle comedy. In like manner the *Νῆσοι* of Archippus was a free imitation of the *Πόλεις* of Eupolis, to which the *Πόλεις* of Anaxandrides also probably owed more than its name alone. If our fragments were more extensive we should undoubtedly find confirmation for these conjectures, and many additions to the list of certain cases.

The middle comedy was much given to parodying the old tragic poets, especially Euripides. If the spirit of Aristophanes descended to his successors, they did not fail to ridicule the choruses, as well as the ethics and philosophy of their victims. That this was in fact the case is shown by the *Orestes* or the *Orestautocleides* of Timocles, a parody probably of the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus. In the one fragment still preserved (Meineke III, 608; Kock II, 462) a chorus of harlots is seen surrounding the new Orestes: *περὶ δὲ τὸν πανάθλιον εὔδουσι γράες, Νάννιον, Πλαγγών, Λύκα, κτέ.* The trial is held in the *Παράβυστον*, and the court is composed of the Eleven. The *Bacchae* of Antiphanes, probably after Euripides, would have been tame without a Bacchic chorus, and a Bacchic chorus could not easily become a mere “*umbra veteris chori.*” Lastly I may mention the lively chorus in the *Trophonius* of Alexis—a play which seems to have been in the manner of the new comedy. The Boeotians who form the chorus are expected to vindicate themselves against the charge that they are good for nothing but to eat and drink, and finally receive the command: *γυμνοῦθ' αὐτοὺς θάπτου ἅπαντες, ut ad saltandum habiliores euadent,* as Meineke observes (III, 491). Now since Alexis was active as a poet from ca. 368 to 286, and belonged almost as much to the new comedy as to the middle, this chorus from a

play produced certainly during the last half of the fourth century should have no little weight in favor of my contention.

In view of these considerations the opinion of Bernhardy (*Grundr. d. gr. Litt.* II, 2, p. 676), that, although more than half of the poets of the old comedy lived on far into the period of the middle comedy, yet there was no organic connection between the middle and the old, seems preposterous, and the claim of Fielitz, that the middle comedy really belonged to the new, is in contradiction to both tradition and fact. As to the character of the chorus in this intermediate period, while I grant that it steadily diminished in importance, especially as regards its melic functions, and especially toward the end of the fourth century, yet I trust that I have been able to show that it exhibited external characteristics that might actually be called Aristophanic. The scanty remains do not furnish proof of this in abundance, and yet one may fairly claim at least that the chorus of the middle comedy should be taken into consideration in the discussion of the stage question.

The question of the chorus in reproductions of old tragedies does not require a separate discussion, if, as I believe, it held its place in new tragedies down to a very late period. We know that almost every one of the extant plays of Euripides was brought out at the time of Lucian and Plutarch (Welcker, *Gr. Trag.* 1313 ff., Schultze, *N. Jahrb. f. Phil.* 1887, 117 ff.). And yet they without exception demand that the chorus should be in easy and intimate connection with the actors. In the multitude of references there is only one to warrant the supposition that they were ever given without their choruses, or so changed that the chorus could have been separated from the actors by a Vitruvian stage. This exception is Dio Chrysostom 19, 487 R, who speaks of the omission of τὰ περὶ τὰ μέλη. But Welcker has shown (*l. c.* p. 1319) that this passage refers only to the tragic recitations at minor festivals. At such a recitation, however, it was quite as possible that the choral parts should be selected and the dialogue omitted; as when the actor Jason and his choreutae performed a part of the *Bacchae* of Euripides before the Armenian king after the death of Crassus (Plut. *Crassus* 32), and when Satyros of Samos gave at Delphi a κithάρισμα from the same piece

(*Bull. Cor. Hell.*, 1894, 85, where Couve rightly draws this inference from the mention of the lyre). Our present texts afford abundant proof that actors tampered freely with passages which would cause them trouble to perform, but not a shred of evidence that it was found necessary to alter the parts of the chorus. On the other hand, a passage in the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, which is generally recognized as interpolated (*vv.* 615 ff.), requires the intermingling of the chorus with the actors. Christ (*Sitzungsber. d. bayr. Akad.* 1894, p. 17) calls for proof that the *Orestes*, for example, was ever reproduced after the fourth century. But this very play furnishes the clearest example of an actor's interpolation (1366-8, schol.) which was surely made a long time after the law of Lycurgus for protecting the text of the dramatists was passed. The Roman tragedy also gives evidence that the chorus in the Greek still remained. This applies, of course, to the production of tragedies in the city theatres at important festivals. The evidence of inscriptions weighs more and more in favor of this view. One cannot emphasize too strongly the fact that in Rhodes in the first century before Christ a complete tetralogy of Sophocles, satyr-drama and all, was reproduced. Nor is there any reason for believing that this was an exceptional occurrence. Finally it should be mentioned that the late writers on music were still familiar with the choral parts of classical tragedy, evidently from the theatre (Wilamowitz, *Herakles* I, 181, note 18).

In conclusion I may summarize my argument as follows: The theory that at the end of the fourth century the actors were elevated from their former position to a stage ten to twelve feet high is untenable, because (1) the chorus in tragedy, though perhaps less correctly handled by the later poets as regards its connection with the plot, was still regularly brought into close contact with the actors down to at least the end of the Roman republic; (2) the satyr-drama with its chorus flourished still in Roman times; (3) the chorus in comedy continued into the third century, meanwhile retaining its connection with the action; (4) the intimate relation of the chorus to the action in the old tragedies of the fifth century was not changed in later reproductions. The continuance for the longest time of the external functions of the

chorus was perfectly natural. The principal cost of the old chorus was in the training for the orchestric and melic parts. The least expensive and the most practically dramatic function was the last to be given up. The erection of the low stage of Nero in the theatre at Athens was the first outward sign of the diminution of the chorus in one of its functions. From that time on it took its position on the stage as in the Roman theatre. Up to that time it had occupied the level of the orchestra with the actors.

EDWARD CAPP.

## GRAVE-MONUMENTS FROM ATHENS.

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### I.

In digging for the foundations of the large house which Mr. C. Merlin, the well-known artist and photographer of Athens, is building at the corner of Academy and Kephissia Streets, the workmen came upon considerable remains of an ancient cemetery. At my suggestion Mr. Merlin made over to the American School the right of publishing these discoveries, and afterwards generously presented to the School three reliefs and one other inscribed stone, together with some smaller fragments. The finds were made in the autumn of 1894. Only a part of them came under my observation at the time; hence the description of the graves and their location rests in part upon the accounts of Mr. Merlin and his workmen.

The description will be made clearer by Fig. 1, which exhibits an outline of the plan of the house, and its situation with relation to the adjacent streets. All the graves lay two or three meters below the present level of Academy Street, and this is somewhat lower than Kephissia Street. Within the triangle ABC were several graves with sides and tops of rough-dressed marble slabs. Near A were two of this type, side by side, one of which I saw opened. This contained skulls and other bones, more or less broken, which indicated at least five bodies, one of them that of an infant. With these bones was a jar, of poor and undecorated pottery, about 15 cm. high and of like diameter, containing only earth and some fragments of plain glass bottles of common Roman shape. The eastern end of this tomb was walled up with



brick, and a single slab of marble formed the partition between it and the companion tomb. A little west of A was found a sarcophagus of Pentelic marble. The only decoration on the body of the sarcophagus was a simple moulding on the front and ends; the lid was roof-shaped, the gable as shown in Fig. 2, the roof proper covered with the scale-like tile pattern illustrated in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1890, Πύ. 9, a sarcophagus from Patras, No. 1186 in

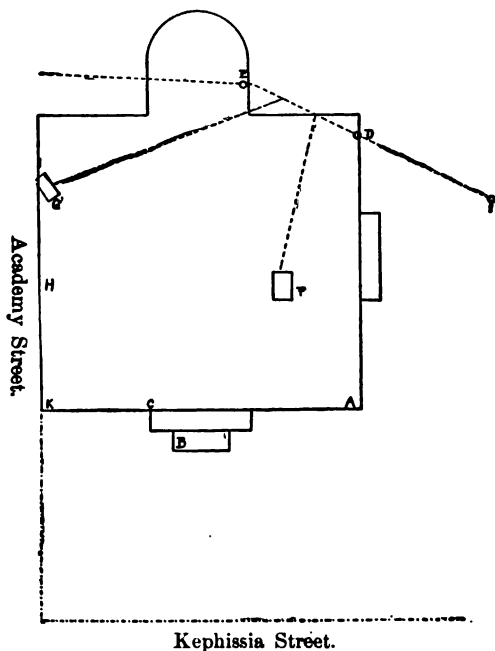


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF MR. MERLIN'S HOUSE.

the National Museum. (It is worth noting that this No. 1186 has on the back essentially the same design as the gable here illustrated; and that the same roof-pattern appears on two or three of the sarcophagi from Sidon, now in the New Museum in Constantinople, as well as on several other sarcophagi in the National Museum in Athens.) The top had been broken open, but the despoilers had overlooked a plain gold ring which was still within the sarcophagus. Near C was a large *cippus* of Hymettus marble, inclined perhaps 40 degrees from the vertical, in such a way that the top, with the inscription, had to be broken to

make room for the wall—unless, indeed, one was willing to spend considerable labor to dig it out and remove it entire. When I saw it first the fragments were lying near, and the inscription is given below as No. 1. Between A and C was a large Roman *stèle*, found lying on one side; from its weight there is no likelihood that it had been moved far. This is described more fully by Mr. Heermance in the following article. Within the space ADIHK the trenches for the side walls and for the numerous cross walls of the house revealed twenty or thirty graves of poor construction, enclosed in tiles, nearly all of the shape of a continuous pointed vault springing from a horizontal base. In two or



FIG. 2.—GABLE OF SARCOPHAGUS.

three the enclosing tiles made a coffin of cylindrical form. These poorer graves contained considerable remains of bones but no decorated pottery, and nothing to indicate a period earlier than late Roman. A few plain glass bottles of common Roman form, with many fragments of such bottles, and a few plain jars were all. It should be noted that nearly all the graves found were oriented in the general direction AB, that is, about east and west. North of the line DH none were found.

E, D and I are wells, apparently of Roman date, still containing an abundance of water. (It may be mentioned that in digging for the foundations of two other houses of Mr. Merlin, on the corner of Kephissia and Sekeri Streets, and on the corner of Sekeri and Kanari Streets, ancient wells were likewise found, which still furnish water.) These three wells were connected with each other, and also with two small reservoirs, F and G, by

aqueducts, as indicated in Fig. 1 by dotted lines. From E an aqueduct was followed in a westerly direction to the street line. In the walls of F and G were found reliefs and inscriptions described below under Nos. 2, 3 and 4, together with fragments of one or more richly carved sarcophagi of Pentelic marble. In the well D was a terra-cotta lamp of graceful form and decoration, with four or five small drinking-cups of reddish clay, undecorated and unvarnished, of the general shape 222 in the Berlin vase catalogue.

The location of these finds has been given in detail because of their bearing upon a question of Athenian topography. It is clear we have here the northern limit, at this point, of the cemetery along the northern side of an important road leading from one of the eastern gates of the city. There can be no doubt that the richer tombs were nearest to this road, the poorer ones farther away. Besides, if the road ran immediately to the north of the line DH, some trace of it would have been brought to light, and another line of tombs would certainly have been revealed on the other side of the street; for the apse-like projection on the northern side of the house extends at least 12 m. beyond the limit of the graves found. The road must therefore have run to the south of B, and presumably several meters to the south, to allow for the probable width of the fringe of richer tombs. The line A-K is 14 m., the point B 9.25 m. from the present line of Kephissia Street. The ancient road is thus located, at this point, very near the line of the modern road. And if one observes the nature of the ground in this region, as shown by the *Niveaulinien* on Kaupert's map, it will be seen that this is about the most natural line of communication with the country east and northeast of Athens, if one considers grade as well as direction. The sketch-map (Fig. 3) will serve to indicate Curtius' conjectural location of roads and wall in this vicinity and the amount of correction which these finds enable us to make. The lot on which the graves were found is shaded, as are two other sites where similar remains, probably belonging to the same cemetery, had previously been excavated. That in Muses Street is a house which belonged to Dr. Schliemann, who reported on the discoveries in the Athenian *Mittheilungen*, XIII (1888), pp. 207 ff.; the topographical

conclusions were drawn by Doerpfeld in the same journal and volume, pp. 231 ff., and the probable course of the city wall in Fig. 3 is taken from the latter article. The site at the corner of Constitution Square and University Street is that of the *Hotel Grande Bretagne*, beneath which and to the north of which were found graves of Hellenic dates.<sup>1</sup> In the upper part of Stadion Street, also, excavations for a sewer brought to light numerous tombs of

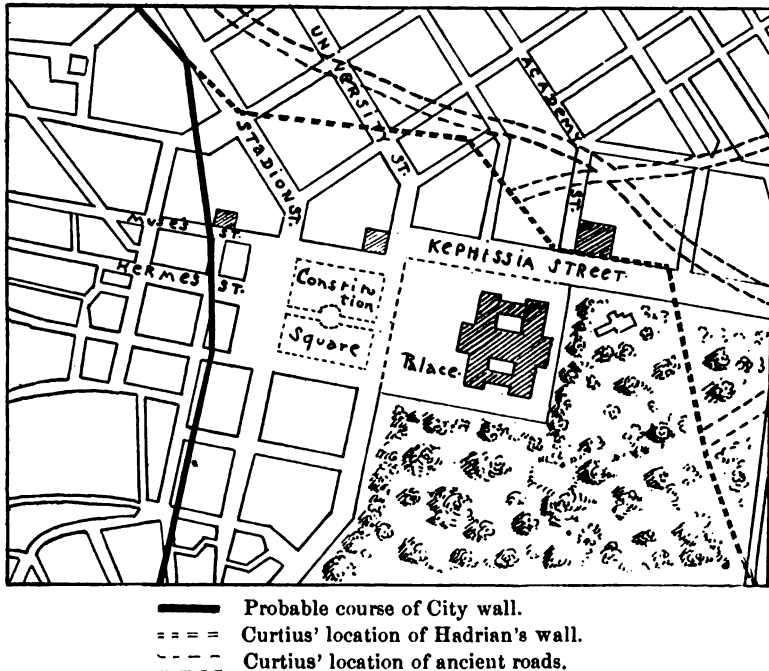


FIG. 3.—MAP SHOWING SITE OF THE GRAVES.

the fifth and fourth centuries B. c.,<sup>2</sup> which apparently formed part of the same cemetery; although it is true that these last may belong rather to a street skirting the wall at this point. Only in the case of Mr. Merlin's excavations have we the data for determining certainly on which side of the graves the ancient road ran; but the probability seems to be that the gate in the Themistoclean wall lay a little south of the ὁδὸς Μουσῶν, and that the road traversed the Constitution Square and passed between Mr.

<sup>1</sup> C. WACHSMUTH, *Stadt Athen*, I, p. 338.

<sup>2</sup> Δελτ. Ἀρχ., 1889, p. 125.

Merlin's new house and the Royal Garden opposite. The name of the gate is perhaps not yet determined beyond question; but Doerpfeld's identification of it with the gate of Diochares,<sup>3</sup> in connection with his location of the Eridanus and Lyceum, has more in its favor than the older identification with the Diomeian gate. As regards the wall of Hadrian, I can add nothing certain, except that the gate cannot have stood where Curtius' conjecture placed it. This follows naturally from what is said above about the road. The inscriptions and reliefs discovered cannot be dated precisely, and may have been all earlier than Hadrian's time, so that it is possible that his wall was built between B and the present street; a deep trench from B to the street would settle the question.

The following monuments call for fuller notice.

1. Large *cippus* of bluish marble found at C on Fig. 1, inclined some 40 degrees from the vertical, the base never fully excavated. The top, with the inscription, was broken when I saw it, but the fragments were near by and all the letters clearly legible, as follows:

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΞ  
ΡΗΞΙΜΑΧΟΞ  
ΕΞΟΙΟΥ

Κλαύδιος  
Ρησίμαχος  
ἐξ Οἴου

The name 'Ρησίμαχος is unknown and strange; one is tempted to read 'Ρηξιμαχος, although ξ was perfectly clear.

2. Lower part of a *stele* of Pentelic marble, of the form shown in Fig. 4, found in the wall of one of the reservoirs, now in the Library of the American School at Athens. The moulding is broken off on the back, right side, and most of the front, to make it more serviceable as building material; how much is wanting at the top is uncertain. The height preserved is 14.5 cm.; the width of the shaft, without the moulding at

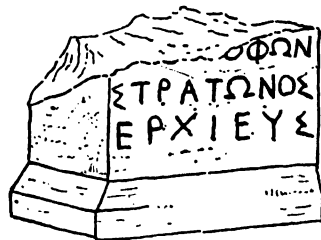


FIG. 4.—FRAGMENT OF INSCRIBED STELE.

<sup>3</sup> Der Eridanos, *Ath. Mitth.*, XIII (1888), pp. 211 ff.

the base, 21.5 cm.; the depth of the shaft 17 cm. The inscription, in good letters about 2 cm. high, is of the latter part of the fourth century. It reads:

ΟΦΩΝ	[Στρατ]οφῶν
ΞΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΞ	Στράτωνος
ΕΡΧΙΕΥΞ	Ἐρχιεύς

The lower part of a perpendicular *hasta* over the first Τ of the second line, with a slight trace of the lower end of a similar *hasta* over the Ρ, points to [ΞΤΡΑΤ]ΟΦΩΝ as the probable reading of the first line. I have found no reference to a *Στρατοφῶν* of the deme of Erchia. The shape of the monument is also new to me; and of the archæologists who have seen it, no one has been able to point out an analogy to it. The bottom has its ancient surface, is nearly as smooth as the sides, and contains no trace of having been fastened upon a base. It must, therefore, have simply stood upon another stone with a fairly smooth surface—perhaps on a slab covering the grave and slightly above the level of the ground—and can hardly have been more than 40 or 50 cm. high. Possibly a relief or a painting adorned the front above the inscription. That it was a grave-monument rather than the base of a dedicatory offering is rendered probable by the circumstances of its discovery, in the neighborhood of a cemetery and among grave-monuments.

3. *Stele* of Pentelic marble with relief (Fig. 5), found built into the wall of the same reservoir with the preceding, and now in the Library of the American School. Height, 64 cm.; breadth, 25 cm.; thickness, 10 cm. The field of the relief is 38 cm. by 17 cm., and about 2 cm. deep; the face and right hand of the figure project 2 or 3 mm. beyond the plane of the enclosing frame. The lower left-hand portion of the *stele* has been in some way cut smoothly away, so that the lower left-hand corner retires 1 cm. from the general plane. This was no doubt hidden in a socket or in the ground. The relief represents a woman in middle life, standing *en face*, the weight upon the left leg, clad in simple *chiton* and *himation*, both arms and the left hand wrapped in the *himation*, the right hand raised and laid against the left breast. The nose has suffered, and indeed the entire surface of the relief

which is the work of an ordinary artisan. The inscription on the architrave above the figure, in letters 1 cm. high in the upper line, distinctly less in the crowded lower line, still retaining traces of red, reads :



FIG. 5.—STELE OF STATIA.

ΣΤΑΤΙΑΝΘΑΛΛΟΥΣΑΝ  
ΦΙΛΑΝΔΡΙΑΤΡΥΦΩΝΑΝΕ  
CΤΗCΕΝ

*Στατίαν θάλλουσαν | φιλανδρίας Τρύφων ανέ|στησεν.*

The letters in general are rather broad, particularly H. Such a genitive of cause as *φιλανδρίας*, without preposition, is unusual with a verb like *ἀνέστησεν*. *θάλλουσαν* seems to mean *in the bloom of life*.



FIG. 6.—STELE OF A BOY.

4. *Stele* of Pentelic marble with relief (Fig. 6), found in the wall of the same reservoir with the preceding, in three pieces, with another crack near the bottom, reaching not quite across.



The total height is 64 cm.; breadth, 37–39 cm.; thickness, 7–9 cm.; the field of the relief is 41 cm. by 27 cm., concave, varying in depth from 1 cm. at the edge to 2.5 cm. The relief is of very poor work, and represents a naked boy standing *en face*, the left hand at the side, holding a ball, the right hand holding a bird against the breast. The inscription consists of four hexameters, irregularly cut, in letters ranging from 0.5 to 1 cm. high; the first three verses above the relief, the fourth verse broken into five lines and placed at the left of the child's head. Endeavoring to get the thirty-eight letters of line two and the forty-one letters of line three into the same space as the thirty-two letters of line one, the stone-cutter so far miscalculated as exactly to reverse the relation of lengths; line three comes out shortest as regards space, and line two the next shortest. The letters are of about the same style as in the preceding, and read:

ΤΙCΤΕΥCΑCΑΙΔΗΤΟΝΗΠΙΟΝΗΡΤΑCΑCΗΜΩΝ  
 ΤΟΝΓΛΥΚΕΡΟΝΤΕCΟΛΩΝΑΚΑΤΗΓΑΓΕCΟΥΚΕΛΕΗCΑC  
 ΤΟΒΡΕΦΟCΕΞΜΗΝΩΝΤΟΚΑΛΟΝΒΡΕΦΟCΩCΤΙΚΡΟΝΑΛΓΟC  
 ΔΕΙΛΑΙΟΙC  
 ΓΟΝΕΕCCI  
 ΠΕΤΡΩΜ  
 ΕΝΗΕΞΕ  
 ΤΕΛΕCΑC

Τί σπεύσας, Ἄϊδη, τὸν ἥπιον ἥρπασας ἡμῶν  
 τὸν γλυκερόν τε Σόλωνα; κατήγαγες οὐκ ἐλέησας  
 τὸ βρέφος ἐξ μηνῶν, τὸ καλὸν βρέφος. ὡς πικρὸν ἄλγος  
 δειλαίοις γονέεσσι, Πεπρωμένη, ἐξετέλεσας.

There is a metrical irregularity in the first line, where *τόν* has the place of a long syllable, and *ἥπιον* is an unusual epithet for a six months' babe. But among the metrical inscriptions discussed by Allen are<sup>4</sup> three hexameters with a short syllable for a long one in the same place in the line, one being from Athens of the fourth century B. C., one from Thessaly, and one from Metapontum; and *ἥπιος* in the sense of *gentle* is not so rare as to be impossible here. The simple pathos of the lines gives them a literary value that is unusual in grave inscriptions.

THOMAS DWIGHT GOODELL.

Athens, April, 1895.

<sup>4</sup> Papers of the American School, vol. IV, p. 78.

NOTE.—In the first line of No. 4 my colleague, Professor Seymour, would read τὸν [ν]ήπιον, assuming a stone-cutter's error. This reading restores the meter and is probably right, though comparatively frigid in sentiment. Professor Allen suggests making τε connect ἤρπασας and κατήγαγες, and removing the mark of interrogation to line 3, as follows:—

Τί σπεύσας, Ἄϊδη, τὸν [ν]ήπιον ἤρπασας ἡμῶν,  
τὸν γλυκερόν τε Σόλωνα κατήγαγες οὐκ ἐλέησας,<sup>1</sup>  
τὸ βρέφος ἐξ μηνῶν, τὸ καλὸν βρέφος; ὡς πικρὸν ἄλγος  
δειλαίους γονέεσσι, Πεπρωμένη, ἐξετέλεσσας.

T. D. G.

Yale University, December, 1895.

## II.

The *stèle* here published (Fig. 7) was found in November, 1894, in digging the cellar of a house on the northeast corner of Kephissia and Academy Streets, opposite the entrance to the Palace Garden. It was presented to the American School of Classical Studies by the owner of the property, Mr. C. Merlin, and in January, 1895, was placed in the School grounds, where it now stands. In the same excavations sarcophagi and other *stelai* were turned up, and taken in connection with previous finds nearer the Syntagma, show that these graves lined one of the roads leading from Athens into the outlying country. Dr. Doerpfeld<sup>1</sup> has shown good reasons for believing that the gate by which this road left the city was that of Diochares, though the traditional view (which is maintained by other recent topographers like Curtius,<sup>2</sup> Lolling,<sup>3</sup> Milchhoefer,<sup>4</sup> and Wachsmuth<sup>5</sup>) puts the Diomeian Gate in this vicinity.

The *stèle* is made of white Pentelic marble, with some flaws in it, and measures 1.98 m. in length, .82 m. in breadth. Both the upper and lower left-hand corners are broken and missing, as are also the nose of the figure, the tip of the left thumb, and various

<sup>1</sup> *Ath. Mitth.*, XIII (1888), 219; *ib.*, 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, pp. 107, 182; (und Kaupert) *Karten von Attika*, Bl. 1a.

<sup>3</sup> In IWAN MÜLLER'S *Handbuch*, III, 304.

<sup>4</sup> In BAUMEISTER'S *Denkmäler*, p. 149.

<sup>5</sup> *Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, I, 845.

chips from the drapery. It was found some 2.5 m. below the surface of the ground, lying on its side, which accounts for the corrosion of the surface of the marble on the right as one faces the relief.



FIG. 7.—STELE OF A DAMASCENE.

Between two *parastades*, surmounted by an inscribed architrave, is the figure of a middle-aged man, 1.62 m. in height, standing with his weight resting on the right foot, which is

slightly advanced. He wears a mantle (*ἱμάτιον*), but its draping is not in the usual fashion found on grave reliefs. Most often the right arm crosses the breast and is wrapped to the wrist in a fold which then passes over the left shoulder. Here the hand as well as the arm is covered, and the fold pulled much further down, so that the left hand, draped as far as the wrist, can clasp the right as the two meet easily in front. A considerable portion of the mantle is rolled up and passed about the neck from right to left, showing the *χιτών* beneath. It is the same side of the garment which covers both arms and falls in front with a tassel on the corner. In length the mantle falls well below the knees and binds the figure quite closely, so that the line of the upper and lower right leg is clearly visible through the cloth. On his feet are heavy sandals, with the various straps carefully worked. A seal-ring decorates the third finger (the *παράμεσος*) of his uncovered hand. This is the usual place for a ring, as Plutarch<sup>6</sup> and Gellius<sup>7</sup> inform us.

The effect of the head, large in its upper part, narrow at the chin, is much changed by the loss of the nose. We should conclude, however, from the type of face, with its high cheekbones, even had we no inscription to settle the matter, that the man whose portrait this is was no pure Greek, but a foreigner—a barbarian. We note, further, the high position of the ears, the small mouth with thin, tightly-compressed lips. The line of the mouth is quite straight, yet not so much so as to give an expression of weakness and indecision. What we have here is rather repose. The smooth-shaven face is commanded by a high and prominent forehead with sharp horizontal division. Above the temples the forehead is particularly high. The hair is treated in a very peculiar manner, which must have depended almost entirely on color for its effect. All traces of paint have disappeared from the hair and everywhere else; but if we can picture to ourselves a mass of dark on the upper part of the head, its apparent abnormal size in part disappears. The space allotted to the hair is indicated by a roughened surface raised from .001 m. to .002 m. above the adjacent flesh portion. For a similar treatment the

<sup>6</sup> *Quaest. Conviv.*, IV, 8.

<sup>7</sup> *Noct. Att.*, x, 10.

closest analogy I have found is a Roman head in the National Museum (Kabbadias, 345), in which case, however, the individual locks on the forehead are worked separately in the usual manner.

In working the folds of the mantle more pains are taken than anywhere else, even those parts not intended to be seen being carefully cut and smoothed. But the impression given by the work, as a whole, is that it is done by rote, from school-training, and not from careful observation of a model. There is lacking the delicacy, the illusion of really fine work. We never forget that the material is marble; it is a solid, in spite of the attempt to render the forms of the body beneath the soft outer garment. Surface finish is aimed at in the hem of the *χιτών* about the neck and on the front of the *ιμάτιον*, the latter being further decorated by a tassel at the corner, which serves also as a weight for that loose portion of the garment. The details of the sandal straps show similar care.

On the other hand, the back of the head is scarcely rounded, but runs from its highest part nearly horizontally into the ground of the relief, instead of being cut more or less free. The right ear is higher than the left, the left eye higher than the right—things hardly done purposely. As compared with the chest, the head projects much too far—it is the point of the highest relief; the distance of the eyebrows from the background is .205 m., that of the chest but .118 m. (The former extends .105 m. beyond the architrave). The result is that the chest appears very imperfectly developed.

Turning to the architectural framing, we note that the *antae*-capitals are made of more elaborate moulding-forms than those of the fourth-century reliefs, and are not cut with the mathematical precision desirable. The outer side of the *antae* is left quite rough, particularly at the base, even above the level where it would be covered when set up. The back of the *stele* is scarcely worked—not even rough-finished—so that its thickness varies considerably.

It is evident from the appearance of the *stele*, as compared with others, as well as from the presence of a square iron dowel broken off flush with the surface in the centre of the top, that something made of a separate piece of marble was once attached there which

has now disappeared. In keeping with the architectural features of *parastades* and epistyle, we may supply a cornice with a row of antefixes, or, as was more common, a gable—probably rather steep in angle, as the *stèle* is narrow—with three *akroteria*; three rather than two, as was frequent at this period, for the *stèle* is larger than most, and seems to me to show reminiscences of earlier styles. When such a cornice or gable was made separate from the main part of the *stèle*, a dowel on each side is more common and reasonable. There are, however, other instances than this where but a single one is employed, and the fact that the dowel is square lessens the danger of the gable turning on it as a center. Possibly, though not probably, a small, deep hole, longer than wide, which is visible back of the dowel, received a pin to give additional security from turning.

In the ground of the relief, on each side of the head and a little below its top, are two irons .02 m. in diameter, broken flush with the surface. Similar irons, sometimes as many as six or more, are often found in stones of the later period, and are to be taken as serving—before they were broken off—as pegs on which wreaths and the like were hung. Those on this *stèle* are much heavier than the average.

On most *stelai* the epistyle is single; here it is double, the lower half .087 m. wide, the upper .08 m., and projecting .003 m. beyond the lower half. This bears the inscription, while the upper part may have been decorated with painted triglyphs and metopes, such as are occasionally found in plastic form on other stones of the Roman period.

The inscription, in letters .042 m. high, runs the whole length of the architrave, and is sadly crowded in its two final letters. The last word, the adjective *Δαμασκηνός*, is complete. Of the two names preceding, the first is gone entirely, the second has lost its beginning, but the letters ---]ευκου are preserved, and before the ε the stone is so broken that the upper part of a letter having a leg sloping from left to right is certain. The possible letters, then, are α, δ, λ. α is scarcely to be thought of, as the combination with the diphthong following is unusual. Of names whose genitive would end in -δευκου, *Πολυδεύκης*, the only one I have found, is to be excluded, as being so long as to leave not enough room

for another name preceding it. *Λεύκος* is a possibility; the chief objection to it being the infrequency of its occurrence. *Σέλευκος* is a frequent name and one not unfitting for the father of a Damascene. If this is adopted, we have still room before it for a name of five letters; but what this was, it is idle to speculate. Epigraphical evidence for natives of Damascus in Athens is scanty, the only other grave-inscription which I have found being *Κλεοπάτρα Διοφάντου Δαμασκηνή* (*CIA.* III<sup>2</sup>, 2406; Koumanoudes, 1639).

The date of our *stele* is a matter of some interest from its topographical bearing. Three possibilities are open in this connection:

(1) It is before the time of Hadrian, and included later by the city wall built by him on the east side of Athens, making *Novae Athenae*.

(2) It is before the time of Hadrian, but was excluded later by the new city wall.

(3) It is later than Hadrian, and therefore outside the new wall.

Unfortunately the style of the letters of the inscription cannot be ascribed with certainty to one or the other period, though the probabilities seem in favor of its being later than Hadrian and accordingly outside his wall.

At this period Athens was still the resort of men from all over the civilized world, drawn thither to enjoy the intellectual opportunities which she offered. Perhaps our unknown Damascene was among such. His expression of face is intellectual—let us call him a philosopher. His monument, by its size, shows him a person of some wealth, and in its simplicity has a suggestion of fourth-century work; and that, too, at a period when the public taste tended to prefer the florid and over-elaborate.

T. W. HEERMANCE.







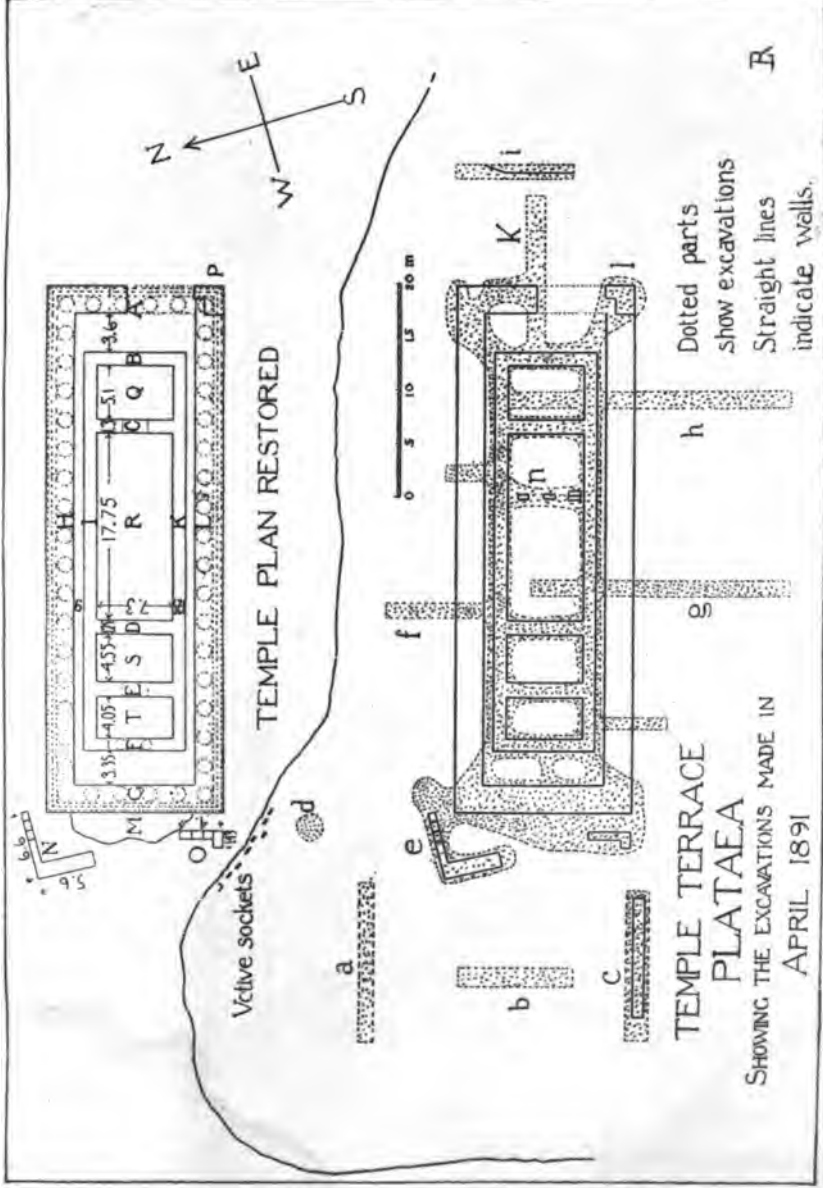


Fig. 1.—Hyponomos.



Fig. 2.—Stage-Building.  
THEATRE AT SICYON.









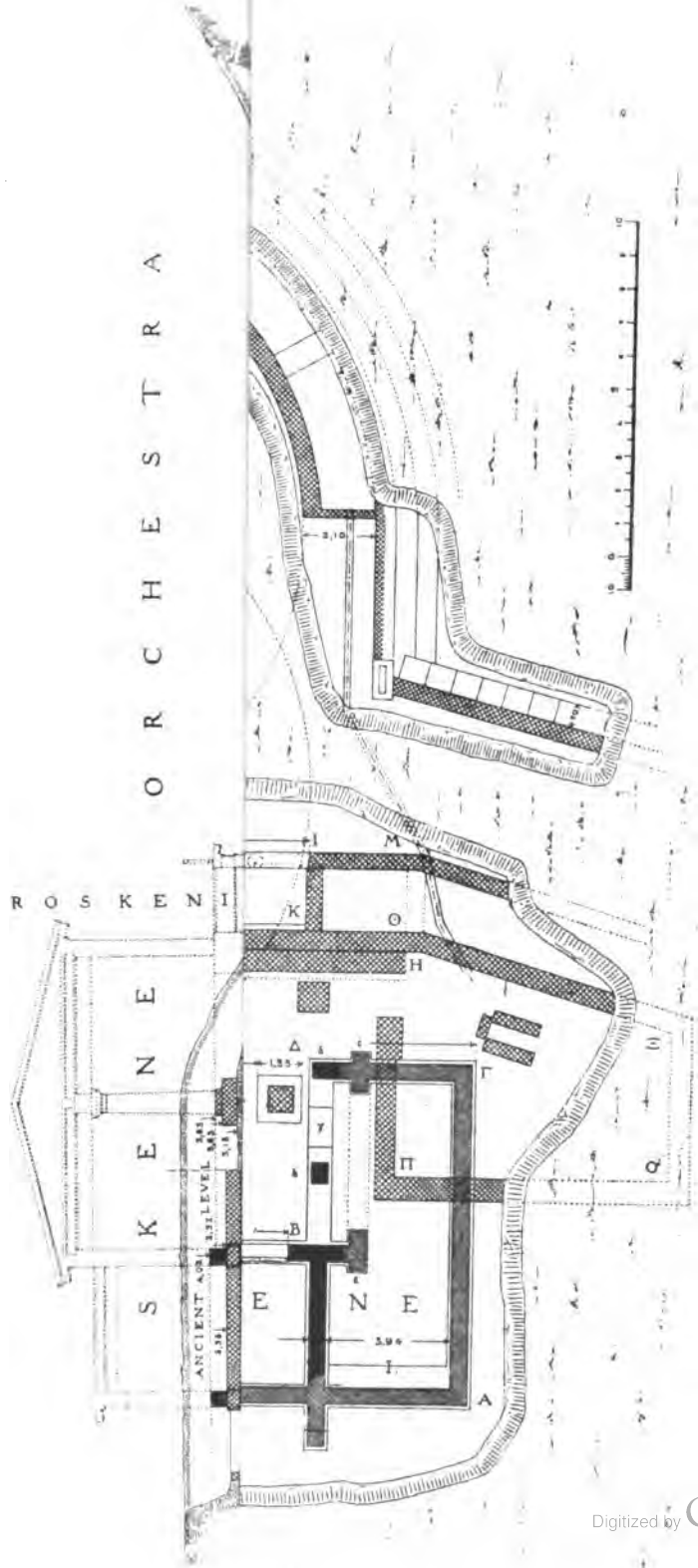
NO. 1. WALL K, LOOKING EAST.



NO. 2 N. W. CORNER, LOOKING SOUTHEAST.  
EXCAVATIONS AT THE HERAEUM OF PLATAEA.



S K E N E  
P R O S K E N I  
O R C H E S T R A



PLAN OF ERETRIAN THEATRE, 1891.







ACROPOLIS OF ERETRIA FROM THE THEATRE.





WALL ON WEST SUMMIT OF ERETRIAN ACROPOLIS.





TOWER ON SOUTHWEST SLOPE OF ERETRIAN ACROPOLIS.





GREAT TOWER ON NORTH SIDE OF ERETRIAN ACROPOLIS.

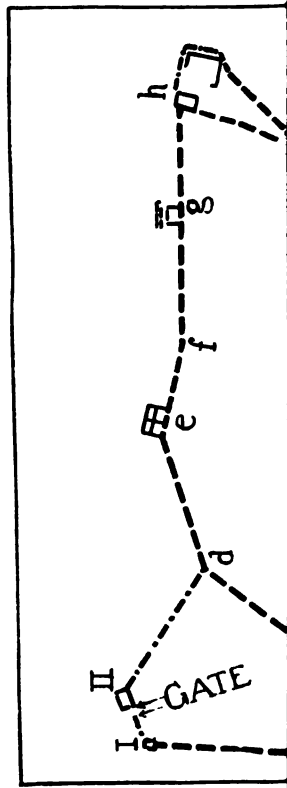






UPPER GATE-TOWER ON NORTHEAST SIDE OF ERETRIAN ACROPOLIS.





..... Conjectural city walls.

----- Old Acropolis with foundation walls of the same period.

----- Sacred way, and sea walls

----- Conjectural Sacred Way and fainter traces of walls

----- Roman cross wall on the Acropolis, and

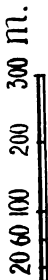
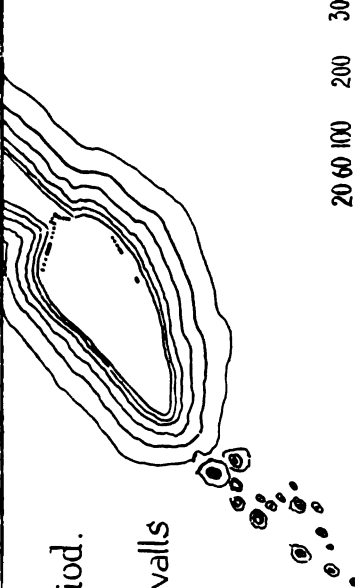
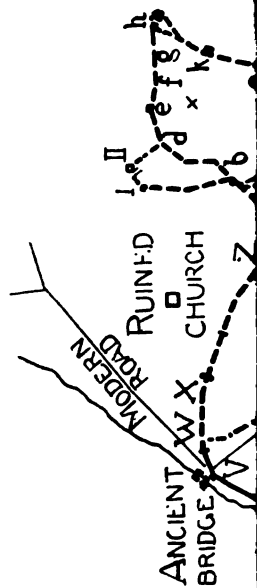
----- Walls on the peninsula

----- Modern streets roads and buildings

+ + Show position of ancient foundations

••• In line of walls show position of complete tower foundations

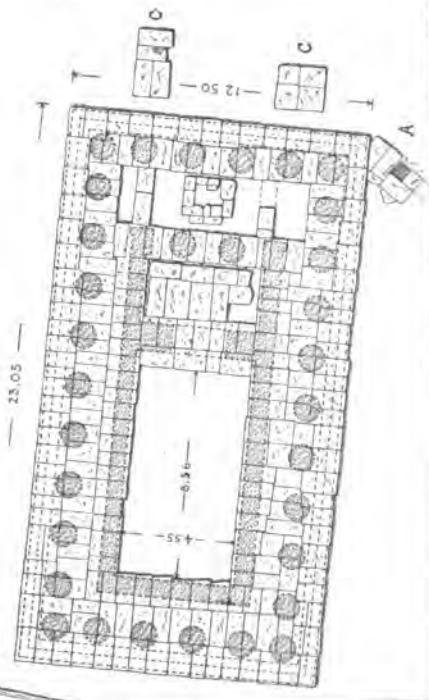
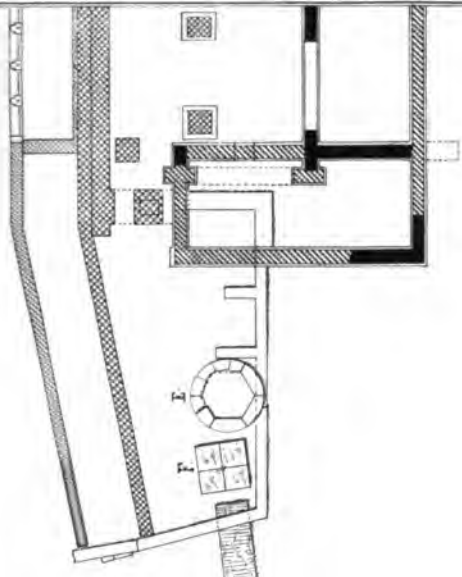
----- Perpendiculars crossing walls mark indications of towers



Bx

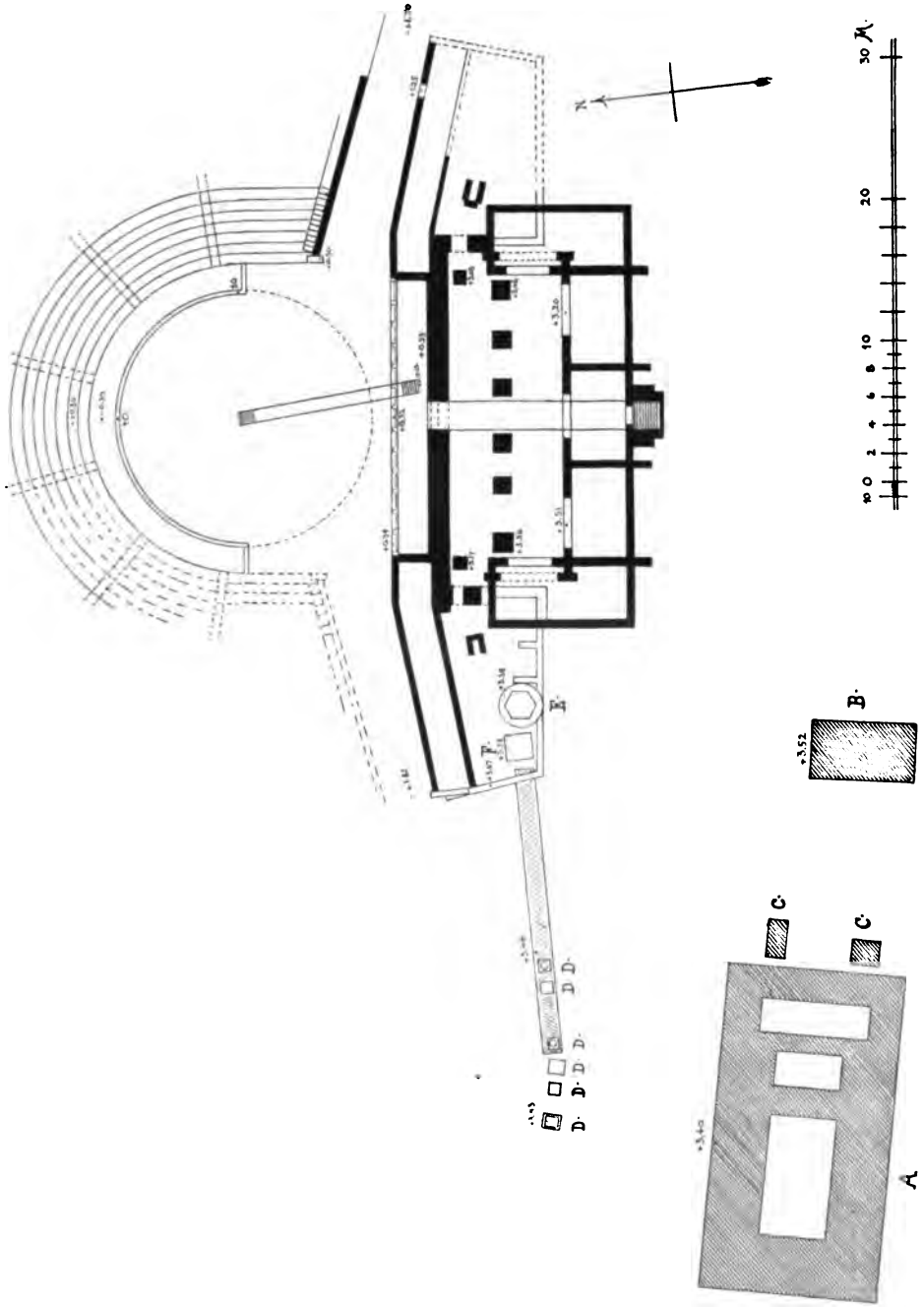
MAP OF EXCAVATIONS AT ERETRIA, 1891.





GROUND PLAN OF ERETRIAN TEMPLE.










GROUND-PLAN OF ERETRIAN THEATRE. 1894.

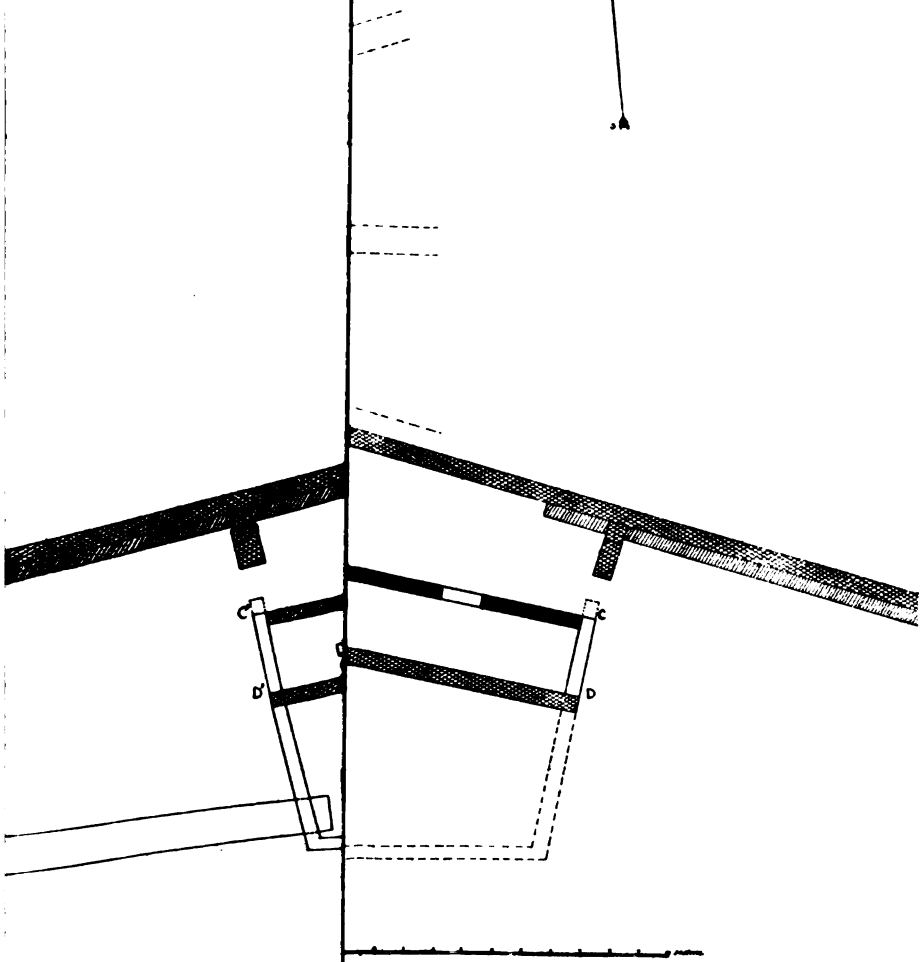




# ATRE AT ERETRIA

1895

-  Walls of First Period
-  Walls of Second Period
-  Late walls - General
-  Murals
-  Late walls - Particular



Scale 1:100





EAST PARODOS AND PARASKENION OF ERETRIAN THEATRE.

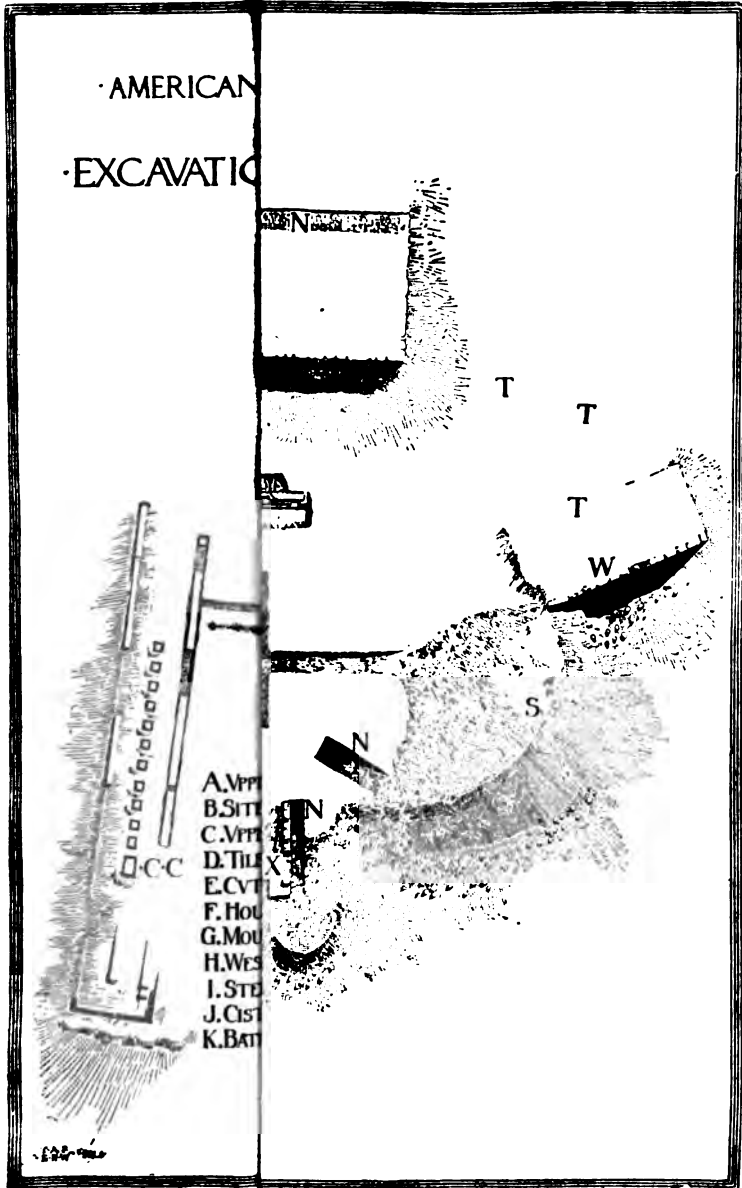




WEST HALF OF SCÆNAE FRONS AND WEST PARASKENION OF ERETRIAN THEATRE.



· AMERICAN  
· EXCAVATION









HEAD OF HERA (3) FROM THE ARGIVE HERÆUM.





METOPE-FIGURE FROM THE ARGIVE HERÆUM.





HEADS AND FRAGMENTS OF SIMA FROM THE ARGIVE HERÆUM.





METOPÉ-HEAD FROM THE ARGIVE HERÆUM.







PLATE XL. MARBLE BUSTS OF THE SAME PERSON.





THE TYCHON FIDELMENT OF THE ACROPOUS





b. VI

a. VI' b.



VIII'



b. X a.

a. X' b.



